MAY, 1935

THE COMMUNIST

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May Day Under the Guns
ROBERT MINOR

•

For a Broad United Front in Japan
TANAKA

•

Comintern Documents on the United Front

•

Lenin on the Elements of Materialist Dialectics

•

Some Problems of Party Work in the Countryside
LOUISE SCOTT

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Achievements and Tasks of the New York District
MAX STEINBERG

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"Anti-Duehring"
Reviewed by H. M. WICKS

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May Day Under the Guns

By ROBERT MINOR

MAY DAY dawns under the guns of the Second World War. At Stressa, Pierre Etienne Flandin might well have said: "*Elle serait une guerre tres dangereuse!*" and Benito Mussolini, from his own point of view, may well have repeated: "*Serebbe una guerra molta pericolosa!*" Which Sir John Simon might, without the slightest change, translate to his pacifist-imperialist premier: "It would be a very dangerous war—!"

And if this thought be given more at length, it could hardly be doubted that the *whole* of its content was in the minds of the heads of the three imperialist States assembled at Stresa:

> "There can hardly be any doubt that such a war would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. It would be a very dangerous war, not only because the peoples of the U.S.S.R. would fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the Revolution; it would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie also because such a war will be waged not only at the fronts but also in the rear of the enemy. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries. And let not messieurs the bourgeoisie blame us if on the morrow of the outbreak of such a war they will miss certain of the governments that are near and dear to them and which are today happily ruling 'by the grace of God'." (From Comrade Stalin's Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.)

But if the imperialist spokesmen at Stresa for the ruling classes of England, France and Italy were conscious not only of the Invergordon mutiny of the British navy, the February barricades of Paris and the Southern Italian demonstration against Mussolini's air maneuvers, but also of the exterior menace to their own empires through releasing the military adventure of Hitler—if they have not yet thought it the best moment to plunge instantly into the Second World War—nevertheless, this month of April, 1935, finds more millions of soldiers under arms than have ever been at any other time except in the past world conflict. There are more "makings"

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of war, there are more definitely marked and known points of political and even military tension, than there were in 1914.

This is the situation on the eve of the most momentous world-wide May Day demonstration ever held in the history of the world up to this time.

* * *

The withering economic ruin of the mass of population of the capitalist States, the deepening of the general crisis of the world system of capitalism, proceed along with that "recovery" which consists of a certain increase in production through more intensive exploitation and robbery by the big monopolist concerns as against the working class, the farmers, the petty bourgeoisie. The struggle for foreign markets grows more intense as the home populations are impoverished, as "recovery" is attained by monopoly corporations increasing the quantity of production with speed-up and labor-saving machinery manned by fewer men, shrinking the market while expanding production—*the chemistry of explosion*. Trade wars, wars of currency-inflation, tariff wars, and wild frenzies of chauvinism —the defeated commercial salesmen are replaced by the *Salesmen of Last Resort*—the Army and the Navy.

Imperialist Japan occupies a "market"—Manchuria, which immediately becomes under the circumstances not a market but a chaos of guerrilla warfare and a military springboard for the "very dangerous war". The murderers of the German workers, the strike-breakers for Thyssen & Co., invent new idiocies and barbarities to divide and conquer the German cannonfodder for the Second World War. Thyssen's mad dog Hitler runs wild in the world. The redivision of the world in favor of the stronger capitalist States at the cost of the weaker is on the order of the day, and all are furiously engaged in the effort to *be* the stronger. The flames of war and incipient war are leaping on four continents, on this eve of the most important May Day.

* * *

Has "recovery" relieved the tension of war?

Is there even a pacifist in the world who still thinks so?

Has this "recovery" relieved the tension of war? No, quite the contrary.

Unquestionably there has been a certain increase in production in the leading capitalist countries. Capitalist England boasts of leading the world in recovery and the boast of "England's 80 per cent Recovery" is echoed through the American bourgeois press as an example and a guarantee to all capitalist countries. Other capitalist States put forward tangible evidences of increased production.

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In the United States there has been a definite increase in production and a rising increase in profits recorded from many hundreds of industrial corporations. The National City Bank in March reported that:

"Eight hundred and forty industrial companies registered profits of $673,000,000 in 1934, as against $471,000,000 in 1933, a gain of 43 per cent."

Much information from hundreds of sources is of like nature, indicating that the bourgeoisie has increased the flow of its profits.

But along with this proceeds the decline of the international financial and credit system, the devaluation of currency, the more and more general flouting of international obligations, the stopping of export capital, and tariff wars that reach what we are tempted to call a "pre-military" sharpness. There is an increased production in the capitalist world, which its prophets call "recovery". But this increase of production has not solved any of the problems of capitalism: unemployment shows no signs of being liquidated, or in most countries, even being alleviated; and not one single capitalist State has solved its problem of either domestic or foreign markets. The general crisis becomes worse. Under the circumstances the increase of production aggravates the general crisis; and the struggle for a favored position in the world market runs more and more to the "Manchukuo" model, not only in Asia, but also in Africa and South America and even in Europe. The "depression of a special kind" is not a smooth road for capitalism, nor for its victims. The Second World War is proceeding along this road.

* * *

Recovery in the United States has remarkably interesting mechanics. Recovery here, is the N.R.A. "recovery". This means the use of extraordinary governmental measures for the piling up of profits, the consolidation of monopoly and the increase of exploitation. But for the working class it is a different story—this "Step Toward Socialism", this "Labor's Charter of Freedom" in action. The N.R.A. Research and Planning Division recently admitted that:

> "The fact seems clear that on the whole the amount of money which the average working man in industries under the codes finds in his pay envelope, has not increased a great deal."

But in this admission the N.R.A. seems still to flatter itself. The National City Bank reports:

> "Assuming that a company is now running at the same rate as

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> it was in 1926 and 1927, the labor costs both direct and indirect, are probably *anywhere from 5 to 20 per cent lower.*"

This "lower labor cost" as indicated in the same N.R.A. report in respect to nine most important industries ranging from iron and steel and automobile, to rubber, woolen textiles and textile machinery, shows a *general decline of average weekly wages since the beginning of the N.I.R.A., June,* 1933, *up to November,* 1934.

The effect on the mood of the working class is tremendous.

Recovery is not bringing the solution of the unemployment problem. Recovery (of profit making) is being attained in decisive industries by means which will result in *increasing unemployment* relative to the quantity of production. This is due partly to an increasing, man-killing pace of the speed-up, under which "a man is old at 40" and the young workers are burned out so rapidly as to recall the standards adopted a century ago on Louisiana sugar plantations: Experts discovered that the most economical use of capital in slaves was under the "*eight-year system*". Efforts to conserve and extend the life of an $800 slave were discarded in favor of a system of driving the slaves to their utmost capacity, even though this caused them to die off like flies in the sugar-cane brakes. Statisticians found that this resulted in "using up" a slave laborer, that is, exhausting his working capacity, if not extinguishing his life, in an average of eight years after purchase. Narrowing the "spread" of the $800 investment in the cost of a slave to eight years proved to be the most economical, because the greater productivity of the slave labor driven at utmost capacity under conditions of the sugar plantations more than made up for the quicker exhaustion of the investment. There can be no exact analogy between the conditions of 100 years ago and today, but one cannot fail to think of this in connection with the headlong drive of the capitalist class today, for crushing the standard of living down below the "living" level. With the sifting into the labor market of 700,000 fresh young workers each year due to normal increase in population, while the number of jobs is relatively stationary, while there is no social insurance, it becomes, from the point of view of capital, more and more a practical matter to adopt standards of wages and labor conditions that disregard the preservation and reproduction of the life of the proletariat. We cannot help seeing this tendency in connection with the basic theory of the N.R.A. as it is now being rapidly revealed after the "charter of freedom" illusion has begun to fade, and with the Roosevelt policy of public works with wages "somewhat above the relief doles" and yet below prevailing wages in private industry.

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The speed-up of fewer men at the machine while thousands accumulate at the factory gate, unemployed, accounts for much of the staggering total of unemployment.

But there is something else.

The N.R.A. Research and Planning Division in a report published February 7 gave the following startling examples of some of the means by which the automobile industry, during the time when the head of the biggest automobile manufacturing corporation (Alfred P. Sloane, Jr.), was one of three heads of the N.R.A., made certain strides toward recovery:

> "The 1929 labor cost of an automobile door was $4. The 1935 labor cost of the same door is 15 cents.
>
> "In 1929 body framing cost $3. The present cost is 35 cents.
>
> "Hand finishing body frames of wood before panelling cost $3 in 1929 and 20 cents today.
>
> "Trimming the body cost $12 in 1929 and $4 today.
>
> "Less than five years ago a manufacturer finished 100 eight-cylinder motor blocks on a given line-up with 250 men. Today the same line-up finished 250 motor-blocks with 20 per cent more operations using only 19 men.
>
> "A new inspection machine, called the photo-electric automatic inspection, selection and sorting machine, will eliminate from ten to 20 inspection men."

And so on, through practically the whole automobile field, showing a 50 per cent saving of labor in vulcanizing, a 60 per cent saving of labor in polishing molding strips, a 60 per cent labor saving in placing ring inserts for valve seats in cylinder blocks, the entire eliminating of labor by automatic buffing in lock manufacture. This is for one industry, and perhaps the most extreme case, but the general tendency holds good except in those cases where an outright decay has brought a resort, not to a raising of the productivity of labor, but a resort to more primitive methods.

This road to "recovery", which would mean general advance and prosperity in a socialist society, means in a capitalist system "recovery" for a Sloane, but ruin and death for automobile workers and the working class.

It is estimated by the Labor Research Association that between March and July, 1933, the value of manufacturing more than doubled, beacause of the inflation policy, while payrolls increased only 44 per cent. (This does not hold good for the later period.)

> "The increase in payrolls was $184,000,000, but the increase in surplus value was $861,000,000! For every dollar that the workers gained, the capitalists gained $4.69 in increased profits! The rate of surplus value in the course of five months increased from 80

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> per cent to 199 per cent! . . . Production in those five months increased over a billion dollars, payrolls increased less than $200,000,000."

Under this form of "recovery", unemployment for the whole country has *increased* from 16,886,000 in November, 1932 to 17,157,000 in 1934, including in the latter figure 2,850,000 on government emergency projects. The Labor Research Association estimates "some 20 million persons in the richest country in the world are now dependent on miserly unemployment relief as compared with about 16 million in May, 1933".

* * *

We have spoken of wages measured in terms of money. But the story in terms of real wages is much worse. Retail food prices on February 15, 1935, were about 33 per cent above what they were when Roosevelt came into office, and the National Industrial Conference Board, an agency of big employers, estimates that the cost of living, generally, is now 14 per cent higher than it was at the beginning of the New Deal.

* * *

This May Day dawns at a time of the beginning of the biggest disillusionment of the greatest mass of men in the history of the modern world.

We have often been tempted to speak of disillusionment in the N.R.A. in terms as though the general mass of the workers had consciously begun to fight that anti-labor project when really only the advance guard had reached disillusionment. We can now speak of disillusionment in the N.R.A. as a rapidly growing reality among millions of American workers. The American working class has undergone some extremely rapid disillusionment since the beginning of the strike wave in Detroit and Minneapolis in the Spring of 1934. Each succeeding battle of the spectacular struggles in which the N.R.A. figured invariably as the strike-breaking agency of the employers, raised the workers' consciousness to a higher level.

After the disillusionment and fighting spirit of the working class increased in relation to the older forms of bourgeois plundering, *new* and more fascist-like illusions have been put forward. The N.R.A. is advancing more and more along the road of fascization of the machinery of State through administration channels. The new form of the N.I.R.A. proposed by Senator Pat Harrison marks a tacit recognition of the rapid disillusionment that is going on, and its inevitable consequences. The new form makes a startling

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stride toward fascism in preparation for more intense (and we can say the *most* intense) forms of class struggle. Anti-trust laws while not formally repealed, are now subordinated to code fixing through which the biggest monopolies which control the Roosevelt administration can work such transformations as they wish. Under the proposed new form, there is delegated to the President the power directly to fix minimum wages—a power which, in its particular field, is not much less than Hitler attempts to wield. The reactionary bureaucracy of the trade unions defends this on the ground that we can depend on Roosevelt's "pro-labor" attitude. It reminds us of Goering's invitation to the world to depend for peace on Hitler's "honor".

The Wagner Labor Disputes Bill, taken in terms of its real applicability, keeps up the picture of an unprecedented drive to hamstring and destroy the labor movement and to beat down the standard of living. It subjects all working class demands to compulsory arbitration. It is Wall Street's tentative move toward Hitler's goal of illegalizing all strikes. The capitalist courts become openly the first and most direct instrument for enforcing the employers' will:

> "The jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judgment and decree shall be final, except that the same shall be subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States."

Court decisions on Section 7A, as well as Roosevelt's letter to William Green, make too plain the fact that this means the right of big industrial capitalists to build company unions under their own control and to destroy the trade unions.

The federal measures against labor that are being rapidly built up in preparation for impending sharpening struggles are included in the program of the Labor Department now being put through, of the wholesale deportation of foreign-born workers for political or trade union activity. Let no "hundred per cent American" workers think that this is "only" a persecution of foreign-born workers and on the basis of chauvinist prejudice be lulled to sleep. The attacks on the foreign-born workers are an attempt to render impossible the organization of such industries as steel and coal in which there is a heavy percentage of foreign-born workers. It is intended by the steel trust through Miss Perkins to establish from one-third to one-half of the workers in the steel mills as a special caste deprived of all political rights (working class politics, trade-union activities, etc.)—a sort of Helot caste prohibiting them from organization and striking. It is intended to make impossible organization or strikes in the heavy industries, and thereby to render ineffective any *general*

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movement such as the capitalists so desperately feared this past winter, extending from automobiles to steel and coal.

The federal measures of repression are supplemented by measures in several states (already in four states) enacting laws attempting to prevent the revolutionary Party from making use of the ballot, while in eight states such bills are now pending, and in six they have failed to pass.

A writer in the *Wall Street Journal*, March 30, 1935, said that Wall Street,

> ". . . is worried about the labor situation and is watching the development carefully as affecting little industry . . . a slowing down of jobs and the unemployment situation is acute".

* * *

Direct fascization of the apparatus of State is accompanied by strong currents of "outside" developments of fascist movements. The quarrel between General Johnson on one side and Huey Long and Father Coughlin on the other has exposed the competition of would-be fascist "men on horse-back" as the reserve when the Blue Eagle's power shall have lost its effectiveness. Johnson in horror declares:

> "There are at least 5,000,000 supporting members of voting age in Father Coughlin's League for Social Justice, and maybe as he claims 8,000,000. . . . Here is a fascist movement which alone could split the followers of Roosevelt as to leave him a minority. . . .
> ". . . Father Coughlin has taken over from one-third to one-half of those who wanted the New Deal."

Huey Long's current of fascist movement has developed such a strength, either in accord with the Coughlin movement, or otherwise, as also to threaten to take over an enormous number that have been subject to the illusion of the New Deal and that are now turning against it. The nation-wide convention to be held by Huey Long, Milo Reno and others in the latter part of April is expected to exhibit a chasm between Roosevelt and the millions who followed him, and to show an attempt of even more volatile adventurers than Roosevelt to bridge this chasm for finance-capital by even greater extremes of demagogy.

The process of fascization of the federal apparatus directly through Roosevelt is being pushed as never before. The Scripps-Howard press recently called for Roosevelt "to lay aside the fly-swatter and use the club", an urgent call for quicker fascism through the government apparatus.

"Now is the time to turn the heat on the dangerous demagogues

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advocating revolution under the guise of plans that they know will not hold water any more than a seive."

This big chain of newspapers which so rapidly developed in recent years through "liberal" *and* "pro-labor" policies is now seeking to capitalize on the circulation thereby gained.

The tremendous propositions of the Coughlin-Long movements are fixed by Roosevelt's old strike-breaking General, from the bureaucratic or "dynastic" standpoint—as movements *rivaling* the administration office-holders. But we have to see these outside-of-the-apparatus fascist movements as supplementary developments of fascism alongside of the distinctly fascist developments of the government apparatus. The political function of Long and Coughlin, in the service of the same monopolist structure of capitalism, is to take over the masses that have largely lost faith in capitalism, and by more extreme forms of demagogy to continue to lead this mass in the service of capitalism—to transform its hostility against capitalism into the most brutal forms of violent assault against the vanguard of the labor movements and against the labor movement as a whole. The disillusionment of the masses in the capitalist swindle of "democracy" and parliamentary forms is to be transformed into the most violent methods of destruction of the civil rights of these same masses.

Of course, there is the effort of such men as Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and of the Liberty League to mobilize the mass support among the staid reactionary bourgeois elements in opposition to the "radicalism" of Franklin D. Roosevelt. This we are not discussing for the moment.

The wide political struggle in which great masses today are participating is a struggle for not just "masses" in general, but for radicalized masses—it is a struggle to win leadership over *anti-capitalist masses*, masses which wish to be led if not against capitalism as a whole, at least against some of the basic features of capitalism. These masses consist of not alone the industrial working class, but also tens of millions of mixed class composition, farmers, ruined petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, etc.

The petty-bourgeois section will never and can never pursue a political line of its own. Inevitably it follows the line of one of the two *decisive* classes in present-day society—either it follows the working class in struggle against the common enemy, the finance-capitalist monopolists, or if the effort to lead it in this direction is not successful, then it is led by the demagogy of Thyssen in Germany or the demagogy of the Morgan bank in this country—in a fascist movement "against capitalism" or "against the *Jewish* bankers"—and "against Bolshevism"—but really to make the land

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run red with the blood not alone of the heroic Bolshevik vanguard, but of all who oppose the fascist regime.

Is this growth of semi-fascist mass movements an immediate and pressing danger? It certainly is. The process of radicalization of the masses does not bring an even and steady flow of recruits to the revolutionary organizations, and to the Communist Party, in any way commensurate with the great currents stirring the masses. Within these great currents there are working numbers of demagogic leaders, with powerful capitalist backing, to divert the masses away from the path of revolutionary struggle, away from the Communist Party, into the channels of counter-revolutionary service to monopoly capital which are camouflaged as "anti-capitalist" movements.

Because the working class movement as a whole is not yet making a *united* fight against the capitalists; because within the labor movement the open supporters of capital still occupy the key positions of power at the head of the American Federation of Labor; because among those masses who have come out openly against capitalism there is a sharp division between those led by the Communist Party and those following the Socialist Party—a division which is only slowly and painfully being overcome by the persistent efforts of the C.P. against the resistance of the S.P. leaders—; in short, because of the *divisions* of working class forces, even on the simplest, most elementary demands against capital, the great mass of millions striving to break with capital and its parties *are not yet drawn to the labor movement*, but fall into the hands of the Coughlins, Longs, Sinclairs, LaFollettes, Olsons, and their kind. Even within the labor movement, we witness the alarming symptom of hundreds of local unions voting substantial sums of money out of their lean treasuries to the overflowing money-bags of Father Coughlin and his "Union for Social Justice".

Let there be no illusions on this score: Fascism is an immediate and pressing threat against the American masses, it is a menace of the present, not alone of the future.

* * *

The response of millions to the demagogues, however, is not simply and merely to be understood as the growth of the fascist danger. It is also a manifestation of the breakaway of the masses from all the old institutions of political control of capitalism. It is the breakdown of the prevailing machinery of capitalist rule. Today it is specifically the exposure of Roosevelt and the "New Deal" as a new instrument of capital against the masses, the disillusionment of the masses, their desperate search for some other way out, some new way.

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Furthermore, it must be understood that even the fascist demagogues can gather their mass movements around them, for a brief period, only against the background of rising class struggles which become more and more revolutionary in character. A Huey Long or Father Coughlin, in their present role, would be unthinkable except upon the background of the strike movement of 1934, Toledo, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Seattle, Portland, the San Francisco general strike, the textile industrial general strike, the great movement of the unemployed, and the rising demand for the Workers' Unemployment, Old-Age and Social Insurance Bill, H.R. 2827, which has just forced even 52 Democratic and Republican Congressmen to vote for it in Washington.

It is also in this setting of revolutionary upsurge among the masses that we must estimate the recent upheavals in Harlem, the Negro section of New York City. The outburst of mass indignation against police brutality and special oppression of the Negroes on March 19, represented the special problems of the struggle for Negro liberation. At the same time it fits into the whole explosive situation in the economic, social and political life of the country. The systematic police repression in Harlem, which roused the March 19 outburst, is the necessary accompaniment of the whole policy of the capitalist class. This becomes sharpest in relation to the Negroes, precisely because they were always subject to special oppression, through segregation, jim-crowing, lynching and all the accompanying evils.

It is characteristic that the police terror in Harlem is carried through by that boasted "progressive", LaGuardia, whose actual policies are not to be distinguished from that of the open reactionaries. The investigation being conducted on the Harlem events by LaGuardia's appointees is clearly moving towards the preconceived conclusion, given it as the basis for its work, that the "guilty ones" in these disorders, which culminated in the police slaughter of four men, are precisely those who were sensitive to the terrible conditions in Harlem and doing everything in their power to remedy these conditions—that is, the Communists.

Here also we have the line of attack which will be followed everywhere by the fascist forces, namely that the rising social struggles are caused, not by capitalist oppression, but by Communist conspiracies, and that the only remedy is to intensify that same capitalist oppression and develop it into more open fascist forms. The fact that the first attempts to carry out this attack in Harlem were rebuffed by the united rallying of the Harlem masses in support of the Communists was a great victory for the Negro masses as well as for the Party. It is not, however, a decisive victory as yet; the same

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line is now to be put through indirectly, if possible, under the cover of the so-called impartial investigation.

* * *

May Day this year dawns under the guns of the second World War.

The poison gas fumes of war preparations fill the air even more than on May Day, 1914. This is indicated especially by the fact that the United States, though occupying the most favored international position of all imperialist powers, occupies the first place in volume of expenditures on war preparations. Roosevelt's C.C.C. camps, with their 600,000 boys under the direction of the War Department, already rival in size the Hitler camps, which gave the model. Roosevelt's unprecedented navy-building program sets a pace which increases international strains to the breaking point. These things show that our rulers are even more conscious than we are how close the whole world is to a new explosion of war.

In what direction will all these enormous instruments of murder be turned?

The answer to this question can only be clear when we remember that the whole world is basically divided into two systems. On the one side, the capitalist countries, with their dependencies and colonies; on the other side, the rising socialist system of the Soviet Union. In 1934 the capitalist world as a whole was still, despite its boasted recovery, in economic crisis registered by a production index 24 per cent below 1929. In the same year, the growing and prosperous Socialist economy of the Soviet Union registered an index of 239 per cent of 1929.

It is precisely the long-drawn-out crisis of the capitalist world which is giving birth to the second World War. It is precisely the unexampled prosperity of the Soviet Union, which predetermines that the capitalist world will do everything in its power to direct that war against its rival, the socialist system of the U.S.S.R. in the hope (vain though that is) to renew the youth of dying capitalism in the blood of the Soviet workers and peasants, as well as the blood of their own cannon fodder, the workers and farmers of imperialist and colonial countries.

How strongly this program is being pushed forward, even in the United States, is shown every day by the unrestrained ferocity of the Hearst press in its anti-Soviet incitements. Hearst is ably seconded by the Socialist leaders of the type of the *Jewish Daily Forward* and the Old Guard of New York. That this program is not only in non-governmental circles, such as Hearst, was startlingly shown by the brusque termination of the trade and debt negotiations be-

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tween Washington and Moscow by Secretary of State Hull. It is further demonstrated in the enormous and growing shipment of war materials from the United States to Japan. In every capitalist country this program, where it has not been officially adopted, is being more and more insistently pressed forward as the only way out for capitalism.

* * *

What chance is there for the capitalist class to find a solution of the crisis through war?

True enough, the capitalists can find in war an enormous market to swallow up their mountains of over-produced commodities—and at profitable prices, at that. True enough, also, the capitalists can, by repeating the slaughter of 1914-1918, dispose of that other great item of over-production, the unused, unemployed millions of workers.

But if in 1914-1918 this same remedy for "over-production" failed, what reason is there to think that it will be successful in 1935 or 1936? The first world war inaugurated not a period of solution of capitalist problems, but a period of permanent capitalist decline. It is not without significance that the most prominent capitalist theoreticians today try to find the roots of all current difficulties precisely in the first world war.

The war of 1914-1918 not only shattered the structure of capitalist civilization. It not only plowed the ground and prepared the seeds of this new crisis and the second world war that impends. Most important of all, it created the conditions under which, for the first time in history, the revolutionary forces, which bear a new anti-capitalist society—the working class and its allies, introducing a Socialist Society—broke through the chain of capitalist State power, and ruptured finally and forever the system of capitalism as a world-embracing system.

Following the 1914-1918 war, the capitalist class was able to confine the Socialist Revolution to the territory of the former czarist empire, to prevent it from flooding over all of Central Europe, only by the most desperate measures, and only with the equally desperate assistance of the leaders of the Socialist Parties and trade unions of those countries.

If these were the results of the first world war, what then can be expected from the second? In 1914 the workers were disorganized, demoralized and betrayed. In every country they were delivered bound and helpless into the hands of the war-lords. Nowhere did the revolutionary working class have a firm stronghold. Nowhere, that is, except in that still tiny Bolshevik Party of the Russian workers, headed by Lenin.

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In 1935 the world picture is fundamentally changed. The working class in the Soviet Union holds State power in its hands as the trustees for the toiling masses of the entire world. The working class State with its rapidly growing socialist economy is the strongest State power in Europe as well as in Asia. The working class will enter the second world war not disorganized, demoralized and helpless, but as a powerful armed force, with the most modern weapons, and with a great modern, rapidly expanding socialist industry as its base.

In 1917-1920 this same Soviet working class, then almost unarmed and with a war-wrecked and backward economy, met, repulsed and decisively defeated the armed invasions of 12 capitalist nations. What hundred-fold greater achievements may it not be able to win in the last half of the Second Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction?

But it is not only in the Soviet Union that the working class today holds important strongholds. Throughout the colonial world, the mighty revolt against imperialist domination is sweeping. This revolt has already on this May Day produced the Chinese Soviets and their heroic Red Armies which are shaking and shattering the Kuomintang regime of the puppets of the imperialist powers. Right on the doorstep of the United States, this colonial revolt has, in Cuba, swept away the Wall Street butcher, Machado, and is at this moment preparing the same fate for Mendieta.

In the imperialist countries, the working class, the bearer of the future society of Socialism, stands head and shoulders above the working class of 1914 in political stature and organizational strength. In contrast with 1914, when the Bolsheviks were small, scattered groups of despised and outlawed men and women, while the toiling masses were almost everywhere under the domination of the reformist social-chauvinist leaders, in 1935, facing the second world war, the working class, while still seriously divided, has deeply rooted in its midst powerful Communist Parties, steeled in the revolutionary struggle and guided by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. No longer do the agents and collaborators of the war makers hold undisputed sway among the working masses. The revolutionary vanguard of the working class is already a power in the life of every country.

Truly, in such a situation, the second world war will be a very dangerous war for capitalism. The enormous reserve of revolutionary energy and heroism within the working class of the world will emerge with a hundred-fold greater tempo and striking power. The workers of every country, with the example of victorious Socialism in the Soviet Union before them, and with the Party of So-

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cialism, the Communist Party, working in their midst, will quickly find the way out of imperialist war, by taking the path of civil war against their capitalist masters.

* * *

On this May Day the forces of the working class in every capitalist country are still divided. The problem of working class unity, which is the basic necessity to achieve the revolutionary solution of the crisis, to defeat fascism and imperialist war, is only in the process of being solved.

The great outstanding significance of May Day and its traditions is precisely its contribution to solving the problem of *united action of the working class* and the toiling masses generally. With this understanding, it is worth while to review again some of the history of May Day, and how it became the Labor Day of the toilers of the entire world.

While the gallows were being prepared in Chicago to hang the leaders of the eight-hour struggle of 1886—Lingg, Parsons, Spies, Fischer, Engel, Fielden and Schwab—the Knights of Labor came into its annual convention at Richmond, Va. Delegate James E. Quinn from New York arose and offered a resolution:

"That this General Assembly regards with sorrow the intended execution of seven workingmen in Chicago, and appeals for mercy in behalf of the condemned."

Grand Master Workman Terrence V. Powderly flushed with anger. This was already an old fight. He left the chair to make a speech about the eight-hour movement and its doomed leaders:

> "Instead of owing them sympathy we owe them a debt of hatred for their unwarrantible interference at a time when labor had all it could do to weather the storm which had been precipitated upon it by men who apparently did not look very far into the future when naming *the First of May* as the date on which to put in operation a plan which, from its very nature, must revolutionize the industrial affairs of the country."

Powderly had first fought against the launching of the eight-hour movement among the workers as a movement for action. Against those who advocated an eight-hour strike, he had favored only a campaign among manufacturers to persuade them "to study its possibilities". Powderly advocated a "letter-writing campaign". He denounced the advocates of the eight-hour movement as "those who parade the streets waving red and black flags".

When, two years earlier, in 1884, the American Federation of Labor decided for an eight-hour strike, and the Knights of Labor

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had been compelled by mass pressure to endorse it, Powderly had fought furiously against the selection of May 1 as the day to begin it, and for the selection of February 22, Washington's birthday.

* * *

Why, then, did the class-collaborationists oppose May Day as a day of action?

Because—yes, *then*, in 1884, 51 years ago and two years before the Haymarket—the First of May already had a world-wide, universally recognized significance of a peculiar sort. Those who contended for the selection of the first day of May for the beginning of the great world-wide struggle for the eight-hour day, did so precisely because they wanted the struggle to be approached by the masses in that spirit which was already deeply associated with May Day in the minds of the masses of Europe and America.

What was the peculiar significance that was already deeply imbedded in the minds of the masses, in regard to May Day, and to which the leaders of the eight-hour movement wished to harness that movement? It was its association with the concept of political rebellion of exploited classes, plus the concept of the universal brotherhood of the exploited classes (in modern times the proletariat) and simultaneous *international* action.

* * *

So often we speak of May Day as though it arose out of an accidental date associated with the Haymarket martyrdom, that it is well to cite some facts. And not for the mere love of turning dusty pages of history—but for the sharp accentuation of what has been the essence of the great International Labor Day, its *purpose*, and its present very definite possibilities, since the choice of that date by the modern revolutionary labor movement.

Of course, there is no one who has not heard of May Day from the point of view of the insipid school celebration around the "May pole". But the political connotation is traceable, varied in each century by the political forms of the time, throughout the entire history of European peoples. Forty years before the Haymarket affair William Howitt wrote about May Day, which at that time apparently interested him in connection with the Chartist movement; he traced the observance of a political celebration or pageantry among Saxon peasants who on May Day traditionally "chose a king" from among their own ranks, refused momentarily to obey their lords, enjoyed "sweet days of freedom", etc. "Certainly," he said, "it is that here the people, if they saw cause, deposed or punished their governors, their barons, and kings. 'It was one of the most

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ancient customs', said Brand, 'which has by repetition been from year to year perpetuated'."

John Brand, the English antiquary (died 1806) in his "Observations on Popular Antiquities", associated the deep-rooted popular observance of May Day with the political event of "the first successful struggle for English freedom, when the confederated barons wrested the Great Charter from the worthless John".

A magazine conducted by Charles Dickens, disturbed by the use of May Day in the struggles of the English working class in the post-Chartist years, traced the nightmare which troubled the good British bourgeois back to "those dread, mysterious despots, the Druids", to "the Celts of Britain and Gaul", to "the Teuton worshippers of Thor".

Dickens, who published his magazine the years following the decline of the Chartist movement, seemed to worry himself sick each April anew over the meaning of May Day, "That May Day", he said, "even in the sixteenth century, was regarded with some apprehension by the ruling powers, is evident from what occurred on what is known as Evil May Day in 1517". (This refers to a famous riot of journeymen and apprentices in London).

And since Dickens reminds us of the sixteenth century, let's recall that Phillip Stubbes, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, published in 1583, complained of the wild breaking loose of the peasants and village artisans each first day of May:

> "And no mervaile, for there is a great Lord present, amongst them, as superintendent and Lord over their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, prince of hel."

In 1660 Thomas Hall, a parish minister who must have been a forebear of William Randolph Hearst, denounced the celebrants of May Day as

> ". . . ignorants, atheists, papists, drunkards, swearers, swashbucklers, maid-marrions, morrice-dancers, maskers, mummers, maypole stealers, health-drinkers, gamesters, lewd men, light women, contemners of magistrates, affronters of ministers, rebellious to masters and disobediets to parents."

Throughout the Great Rebellion, the Commonwealth and the Restoration, the political association of May Day with popular uprising or insubordination persisted, and with the British colonists was taken to America. When the British fleet on April 17, 1797, was seized by the sailors in the famous "Nore Mutiny", who elected their own "admiral", hoisted the red flag and established their own

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discipline under a sailors' committee and were joined by a large portion of the entire British Navy, there was little doubt of the conscious connection of the event with "Maytide". Twenty-seven years later, on May 1, 1824, a general riot of the sailors of the British Navy was unquestionably their celebration of May Day and a more or less confused struggle for demands.

* * *

This was the tradition of May Day *before* it became "Labor's Day".

Among the native American masses of British origin and the German immigrant workers the unbroken tradition of May Day persisted and more and more had adapted itself to the modern proletariat, as is shown by the whole controversy that raged in the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (the first name of the American Federation of Labor) and in the Knights of Labor during the years 1884, 1885, 1886 and after.

The great central problem then before the world's labor movement was the problem of securing universal and simultaneous action for a limitation of hours for labor generally. *Under the conditions of the time* the "link of the chain", by the seizing of which the whole chain of an organized international labor movement could be drawn into existence, was the question of a successful general action for the limitation of hours. In the judgment of the convention of the American Federation of Labor (or F.O.T.L.U.) of 1884, the date upon which such a successful mobilization could best be made was May 1. The nature of the controversies of the time leaves little room for doubt that the reason for the choice was the predisposition of the entire working class to regard May Day as the traditional day of the general statement of their case against the ruling class.

For this reason a more general response and a clearer dramatization of the deep class significance of the struggle could be obtained on that day of "Sathan, prince of hel". The A. F. of L. Convention of 1884 resolved:

> ". . . that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from May First, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout their jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named."

The never-to-be-forgotten struggle at the McCormick works in Chicago, the slaughter of the workers by the police and the protest meeting at Haymarket Square, followed this directive of the

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American Federation of Labor which had been rather energetically taken up by the predecessor of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The crushing blow struck by the ruling class at the labor movement, the cowardly desertion of the heroic German immigrant leaders of the Chicago strikers by many of the official heads of both the A. F. of L. and the Knights of Labor, and the struggle that raged between the opportunists and those who fought to keep the struggle going for the eight-hour day—are well-known history.

After the hanging of the Haymarket martyrs, there was a dispute in the A. F. of L. Convention of 1888 over the question of fixing a date for the practical enforcement of the renewed resolution of struggle for the eight-hour day. This struggle between the Right and the Left was settled by a heavy majority vote of the convention for May 1, 1890, for what practically was intended for a general strike for the eight-hour day.

From this action of the American trade unions came the adoption of May Day throughout all industrialized countries of the world as the International Labor Day.

The Second International at the Congress in Paris in 1889, at which the International was founded, according to its own words, elected to follow the example of the American labor movement in the selection of a universal day for world-wide mobilization, training and review of the forces of labor. The Paris Congress resolved:

"To organize a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities on the appointed day, the toiling masses shall demand of the State authorities the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours, as well as the carrying out of other decisions of the Paris Congress".

"Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon for May 1, 1890, by the American Federation of Labor at its Convention in St. Louis, December, 1888, this day is accepted for the international demonstration."

In this way, the workers of the United States, and especially the workers of Chicago, gave to the world its only existing international Labor Day. With the rapid growth of the labor movement in Europe, especially in Germany, May Day rapidly developed beyond the bounds of even so large and universal a demand as the eight-hour day was at that time. It quickly developed toward becoming what it is today—a day of mobilization for struggle against imperialist war and against the present-day most brutal form of repression, strike-breaking and war preparations, which we know as fascism.

The Second International at Brussels in 1891 repeated the

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fixing of May First. At Zurich in 1893, the International, after a compromise in which the word "revolutionary" was stricken out, resolved:

> "The demonstration on May First for the eight-hour day must serve at the same time as a demonstration of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinction through social change and thus enter on the road, the only road leading to peace for all peoples, to international peace."

Thus May 1 became the first international May Day, deliberately selected and organized for a conscious purpose, common to the working class of the whole world. It is very instructive for our *present* understanding of the function of May Day, to see how the great Engels looked upon that first international May Day of 1890. He spoke of it at the proletariat's "review of its forces" . . . "mobilized for the first time as *one* army, under *one* flag, and fighting for *one* aim".

Very useful are Lenin's remarks in 1900 indicating the specific character of May Day world-wide demonstrations—their specific *function* in the service of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out that the workers' demonstration had refuted the legend that "they must not take up the struggle against the whole political system of Russia". He showed that the eight-hour day demand was "the demand of the whole proletariat, presented not to individual employers, but to the government as the representative of the whole of the present-day social and political system, to the capitalist class as a whole, the owners of the means of production".

Despite its being steadily undermined, along with all other revolutionary traditions and instruments, by the advancing imperialist groups in the national labor movement, the recognition of May Day became more and more world-wide—became more deeply imbedded in the minds of the working class with its revolutionary significance.

This writer recalls the May Day demonstrations of the workers of Paris in 1914 at the Salle Wagram. The tension of the oncoming war was already extremely great, even though not a word had yet been heard of the Sarajevo affair. The rapid stride of the European imperialist nations toward the war had already been begun. Germany's new military law was in effect. The new French law for three years' military service—"*la loi de trois ans*"—had been adopted and the great mass demonstrations and clashes with the police (under the cry "*a bas, a bas les trois ans!*") had taken place during the previous winter. We will never forget the speeches made by French and German leaders of the Second Inter-

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national on May 1, 1914. But by three months later, on August 1, these leaders themselves had completely swallowed their words. Came August 4 and the greatest blood bath ever seen by man or any other animal, while the Second International through its component parts of national leadership, became the best assistant to the imperialist butchers in the slaughter of the working class of all nations. Then came the March Revolution followed by November 7 when all of the forces of the world revolutionary movement in the hands of the Russian proletariat, all that which made the British admiralty tremble in 1824, all that which made Terrence V. Powderly rave in 1886—when all that May Day meant broke the fetters of bourgeois reaction in the old Russian empire. For all that May Day meant this interfered with the world situation. There was created the Communist International and the Communist Parties of all countries of the world.

* * *

The center and heart of the May Day action this year is the question of the united front.

The function of the demonstration throughout the world is to obtain the widest possible action of the working class "as One army, under One flag, and fighting for One aim", to present "the demand of the whole proletariat" to "the government as the representative of the whole of the present-day social and political system".

The situation is one in which unity attained now can never be undone, can never be entirely lost. Socialist workers, Catholic workers, Protestant workers, Negro and white workers, workers who have until today followed the Democratic and Republican "labor" leaders and the Sinclairs, Longs and Coughlins, but who march this May Day together for so much of their common class needs as they can now see together, will have undergone an invisible but important transformation by May 2. The sense of Shelly's line: "We are many, they are few" will saturate the mind of the masses, and will remain with them through new "San Francisco" situations and new "textile" episodes, which may mean Chicago this time, and steel or coal.

The united front of the workers against capitalist oppression, against fascism, against imperialist war, this is the slogan of May Day. That is why the Communist Party has subordinated all details of the preparations for May Day to the great aim of the fight for one united May Day demonstration. That is why the Communist Party proposed as the central concrete slogan for May Day in each city and demand: Make our city a 100 per cent union city! That is why the Communists have been so persistent in approaching

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the Socialist Party and the workers who follow it with the slogan of united action on May Day. That is why the Communists have been so energetic in their efforts to mobilize the trade unions for May Day action.

The Communist fight for working class unity on May Day is not something accidental or isolated from the whole work of the Communists in every field and in every country. The slogans which we put forward for May Day are precisely the slogans under which the World Party of Communism, the Communist International, prepares for the coming Seventh World Congress.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International wlil be a gathering of representatives of the fighting vanguard of the toiling masses of every country to work out those policies and practical measures which will contribute most to the achievement of the fighting unity of the working class, the united front of struggle against fascism and war.

Those who march together on May Day under the slogans of working class unity are the bearers of the Socialist revolution. With the tremendous effect of unity in action on May Day once experienced, these workers will never again be docile slaves of a capitalism which is constantly driving down their standards of life. May Day will enormously strengthen the resistance of the exploited masses to all capitalist encroachments. The united action of May Day will prepare these masses to complete their break away from the leadership of capitalism, away from the policies of collaboration with capitalism of the trade-union bureaucracy, of arbitration courts, of N.R.A. Labor Boards, etc. It will help them to complete their break away from the parties of capitalism and enter upon the political arena as a separate class, with its own program against capitalism and its parties, for the new, the Socialist Society.

Events of the past year show the rapid growth of those forms of *united* struggle toward which it is the whole purpose of our May Day actions to develop. The smug bourgeoisie likes to tell itself that general strikes are un-American, that the "peculiar nature" of our country is such that general strikes "cannot happen". Since May 1, 1934, in seven American cities the question of a general strike has come sharply before the whole working class and the trade unions: Minneapolis, Toledo, Milwaukee, Butte, Portland, Seattle, and San Francisco. The actual breaking out of the general strike in San Francisco, as advocated by the Communist Party—the A. F. of L. unions, in spite of all that the top bureaucracy could do, responding to the need to come to the rescue of the International Longshoremen's Association—would mark a chapter in the history of the United States if for no other reason than the fright that it throws

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into the bourgeoisie itself. As for its influence upon the trade unions and the working class generally, all actions of future months and years will be somewhat influenced by the magnificent lesson of that event. The great textile strike of September was in itself of a nature partly kin to the San Francisco general strike, reflecting its influence through the sheer magnitude and its complete effectiveness in the huge industry of 500,000 workers. Because of these two events, all succeeding events must be somewhat different from what they otherwise would be.

The working class does not emerge from its political enslavement to capitalism full-grown, politically mature and fully organized. It attains its political independence, it becomes conscious of its historical tasks, only in the course of breaking away from capitalist leadership, in the course of the daily struggles to protect its immediate living conditions.

That is why every development towards a broader class unity on slogans of the immediate demands of the daily struggle really represents the path towards the new Socialist Society. That is why all of those who want to save capitalism fight desperately to prevent this unity, even against the slogan of 100 per cent unionization or the demand for the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance Bill. Working class unity is what the capitalists and their agents fear more than anything else. Such unity expressed in action to achieve even transitory demands, creates something new that lives and grows—the idea of the working class and it potential power, its ability to meet and defeat capitalism. This idea, at the moment when the capitalists are keeping closed the factories and mines, are keeping the workers idly roaming the streets, becomes a tremendous revolutionary force. It cannot but result in the further idea that this working class can take possession of and itself operate these idle means of production without which a tolerable life is impossible.

May Day of 1935 registers new advances in building this working class unity. Not everywhere will a united May Day have been achieved. Everywhere the masses who turn out in the United States on May Day, although larger than ever before in history, will still be only a minority of the working class, only the first beginnings of the development of a powerful mass movement toward a united front. May Day must be taken as only the starting point for a new and many times more powerful advance all along the line in building up vast organizations of the workers, forging their organizational strength and maturing their political independence as a class.

May Day is therefore a step on the path of class struggle, class organization, class consciousness. Many hundreds of thousands who

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will march on May Day are not yet Communists, not yet consciously revolutionary. After May Day it will be necessary to find the forms of united action which can bring these hundreds of thousands and millions more into a daily united front of struggle against the capitalist enemy. For this purpose, the building of ever more powerful trade unions is absolutely necessary; ever broader and stronger organizations of the unemployed; many forms of broad united front organizations around specific issues will be more than ever required, such as the American League Against War and Fascism, Friends of the Soviet Union, International Labor Defense, and so on.

There is emerging in the consciousness of the masses the necessity to find a road to the broad, political united front against capitalism on the immediate issues of the day, a broad federation of all the forces of the working class and its allies, ranging from the Communists, conscious revolutionists, to those broad masses who do not yet see the whole historical road, but who only know that they must fight against the capitalist parties and their program of the day, in order to live. That is why the Communist Party proposes in the United States today to join with all other workers, prepared to fight for the immediate needs of the masses, in a broad *Labor Party*, based, organizationally, upon the trade unions and existing mass organizations, and politically, on a program of defense of civil rights, trade-union standards, Negro rights, unemployment insurance, farmers' relief, etc.

May Day, 1935, is thus an important action also in the bringing to realization this broad, federated *Labor Party*. The struggle for the creation of such a Party will become more and more the essential instrument for struggle to defeat and isolate the fascist demagogues who are striving to turn the radicalizing masses into the channels controlled by finance capital, into a third capitalist party.

The united actions on May Day, by taking up all the crucial issues of every-day life of the toiling masses, by raising the slogans of organization and struggle on the basis of immediate needs, are thus launching the American working class on the path of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. This path begins with the slogans of immediate struggle against capitalism. It can end with the complete overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the Workers' Government, the Soviet Power which will reorganize the entire life of the people upon the basis of Socialism.

For a mighty united front on May Day!

Forward from May Day to a more intensified struggle against capitalism!

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For a Broad United Front in Japan

By TANAKA

FOR more than three years now, the Japanese imperialists have been waging a war of plunder in China, while at the same time feverish preparations are being made for the "great war". The Japanese bourgeoisie and the fascist militarists presume that war will help them to solve all the burning questions that confront them.

Enormous sums of money are required for war. These are being got together in Japan at the expense of un unprecedented reduction of the standard of living of the working class and of the broad masses of toilers there. War requires "national unity" and peace "in the rear" at home. And the Japanese bourgeoisie and militarists, actively supported by their Social-Democratic (Syakai Taisiuto)* and fascist allies are trying to scare the masses with the "difficulties facing the fatherland", the "1935-36 crisis" and are propagating the chauvinist idea of Japan's "life line", which actually means spreading the efforts of the Japanese bourgeoisie and militarists at expansion towards the Soviet maritime province, the South Sea Islands, and Latin America. All this is being done so as to poison the minds of the Japanese proletariat with the drug of chauvinism, to rally them in support of war, and to separate them from all the "dangerous ideas" which are becoming more and more widespread in the minds of the Japanese proletarians. To this end the bourgeois-landlord government, which has a complete arsenal of refined methods of provocation and espionage at its disposal, is employing a ferocious terror against the toiling masses, especially the advanced section of the working class. During 1934 alone, over 4,500 revolutionary workers have been added to the thousands previously imprisoned.

But whether the ruling classes of Japan want it or not, their drive to war is sharpening to the extreme the contradictions inside the country. The strike struggle in the towns is developing and unrest is growing among the peasants in the villages. Differences

* Syakai Taisiuto—Japanese Social-Democrats, fundamentally social-imperialists.

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are growing among the ruling strata themselves as to how Manchuria is to be ruled, how profits are to be divided and as to the date to be fixed for the "great war". The war drive of Japanese imperialism cannot fail to lead to a sharpening of the contradictions between Japan and other imperialist powers with interests in the Pacific Ocean. But the ruling bourgeois-landlord clique sees no other way out, and is feverishly preparing for the "great war", and first and foremost for counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

THE RULE OF THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS AND THE TRADE-UNION BUREAUCRATS

The social-imperialists and the reformist trade-union bureaucrats give their full support to the aggressive policy of bourgeois-landlord Japan. The "Syakai Taisiuto" and the leaders of the Ring-wing of the reformist trade-union movement (Kumiai Kaigi) are playing an especially active and open-handed role in this respect. The "Kumiai kaigi" has about 280,000 members, *i.e.*, 80 per cent of the total organized workers of Japan.

When the very first steps were taken in the occupation of Manchuria, the "Syakai Taisiuto" and the trade-union bureaucracy strove to deceive the masses, by making the workers believe that the enslavement of the toiling masses of Manchuria by Japanese finance capital was actually "the creation of a Japano-Manchurian bloc under the government of the people". In the beginning of last year, the trade-union bureaucracy of the "Kumiai kaigi" offered their assistance to the government in setting up organs of class collaboration, "Sangiu kioroku yinkai", after the mode of the military-industrial committees that existed in Russia during the imperialist war.

In 1933, the "Kumiai kaigi" on the initiative of the leaders of the extreme Right "Sodomei" * (48,964 members) and the Seamen's Union (98,775 members), which play a leading role in the Trade Union Congress, adopted a program of "healthy trade unionism". The essence of this program is the rejection of all active methods of class struggle, and the establishment of class collaboration between workers and capitalists—"Class peace in the name of national unity". In actual practice this program meant that whereas the trade-union bureaucrats formerly persuaded the workers that there was no need to strike (strikes are allegedly of no advantage

* Right Reformist Federation of Labor.

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to the workers since they undermine the enterprise which feeds them), now, on the other hand, the local trade-union organizations are forbidden to strike without permission from the center. The only methods of "struggle" on behalf of the interests of the workers recognized by the trade-union bureaucrats are agreements signed on the basis of class collaboration, which, according to Sodomei, are the "corner-stone of industrial peace and collaboration", as well as the presentation of petitions, the development of the workers' mutual aid societies, etc.

The new program adopted in October, 1934, at the last Congress of the "Kumiai kaigi" is a further step on the part of the reformist leaders in the direction of collaboration with the ruling classes. This program provides for the establishment of a so-called "ministry of labor and industry", representatives of the workers (read: trade-union bureaucrats) to take part without fail in all its work, which ranges from control over the productivity of the labor of the Japanese workers in the interests of the capitalists, to the elaboration for the whole of industry of legislation for compulsory arbitration in connection with strikes. This program, which is nothing but a proposal to give official shape to collaboration of the trade unions and the government, is yet another proof of the increasing development towards fascism of the Social-Democratic and trade-union bureaucracy.

There is additional proof of the development towards fascism of the trade-union bureaucrats in the fact that while they talk of the fight against fascism, they make no attempt, in actual practice, to carry on this struggle. When the fascists split away groups of workers from the Sodomei and the Right moderate Dzenro (over 40,000 members) and led them into their own trade unions, the trade-union bureaucrats adopted no measures whatsoever against this move. Some of the successes obtained by the fascists in setting up their own organizations were achieved just because of the rapid development towards fascism of the leaders of the reformist trade unions. The leader of the fascist unions, the "Rodo domei"* declared at the beginning of last year, for example, that they were not against joining the "Kumiai kaigi", since the latter had rapidly evolved towards national-socialism, and their common interests had grown. The leaders of the "Sodomei" on their part have been telling the workers and are telling them today that the Japanese fascists are not the workers' enemies, since they are conducting a struggle against finance capital. Now the trade-union bureaucrats have passed from words to deeds. In October, 1934, amalgama-

* Rodo domei—union of labor.

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tion took place between the Osaki section of the "Sodomei" and the Osaki section of the fascist "Rodo domei", and in November of last year, the Tokio section of the "Dzenro"* amalgamated with the Tokio section of the "Rodo domei".

This is why the organs of the government have the support of precisely the leaders of these organizations when conducting their policy of further enslaving the toilers. It is not for nothing that the Minister of Home Affairs discusses questions of home policy with them and with the leaders of the "Syakai Taisiuto". It is not for nothing that the most prominent trade-union bureaucrats from these trade unions participate in court functions (the presence of Sudzuki at the court on the occasion of the Chrysanthemum Festival). It is not in vain that the government despatches its representatives to greet the Congresses of the Right trade unions. The Minister of Home Affairs himself greeted the last Congress of the "Kumiai kaigi" and approved the policy of the Rights. The authorities know full well that they have trusty servants in these representatives of the working class.

THE MILITANCY OF THE WORKERS IN THE WAR INDUSTRIES

However, the class struggle undertaken by the Japanese workers is sharpening and is consequently undermining these tactics of class collaboration and of the inculcation of chauvinism among the masses.

In the front ranks of the strikers are to be found the workers employed in the war industries, the metal workers and chemical workers, precisely those among whom the influence of the reformists is especially strong, and among whom strong chauvinistic propaganda is conducted, and over whom a military regime reigns supreme. During 11 months of 1934, there were 215 strikes among the metal workers and 279 among the chemical workers. The struggle of the miners of the Kiusiu region, who until quite recently have been backward, is also taking on broad dimensions now. The miners are fighting against the capitalist offensive, against the intensification of labor, the lowering of their standard of living (the maximum wage of the miner is 1 yen 87 sen, the minimum 70 sen), and for increased wages and a shorter working day. In 1931 this region was the arena of a mass struggle of the miners, but the government and fascists suppressed the struggle then with bloody terror. The heavy burden that has grown in connection with the war is compelling 100,000 miners to rise up in struggle once more.

The increase in the number of the strikers shows the militant activity of the Japanese workers. During 11 months of 1934, the

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* Dzenro—reformist trade-union organization.

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number of strikers reached the figure of 103,300 as against 97,500 in 1933. First place among the strikes that took place during the past year was occupied by those in support of demands for increased wages. They represented about 33 per cent of the total, while in 1931, when the Japanese imperialists began their adventure in Manchuria, strikes of this kind constituted 18 per cent of the total. The number of strikes against wage cuts fell to 4 per cent (according to official statistics), but in 1931 they constituted 27 per cent of the total number of strikes. About 30 per cent of the total are strikes for a shorter working day, for recognition of the trade unions and for the abolition of the system of overseers.

Once they have begun a strike, the workers stubbornly defend their interests. Cases are not infrequent when strikes go on for one to two months and more, and what deserves particular attention, these strikes take place even in munitions factories. It is especially important to note that during these prolonged strikes, the workers have to overcome the organized sabotage of the reformist leaders, and to go on strike over their heads, despite the military and police terror.

The urge towards the united front is embracing ever broader masses of the members of reformist trade unions, who are learning by experience that divided action and scattered strikes only retard a successful struggle, and that it is more essential today than ever before to confront the united front of the owners, militarists and fascists with the broad united front of struggle of the proletariat. Strikers are more and more frequently appealing to workers in other factories and their appeal meets with response. Delegate conferences are not infrequently called during strikes to decide upon some measure or other to help the strikers. Time and time again the workers declare strikes over the heads of the reformist leadership in protest against the dismissal of their comrades, or against the arrest of active workers, etc.

EXAMPLES OF STRIKES WAGED

Here are a few facts from the struggle of the Japanese workers against the worsening of their living conditions which has come about as a result of the military-inflationist policy of Japanese imperialism.

A strike of workers engaged in the military engineering works of the Kikai Seisaku Company in Osaka went on for two months. During the course of the strike, the engineering workers, members of the "Dzenro" spontaneously established a united front with the workers of the Daiotsu Seidzai saw-mills and of the Tekkan Company pipe-rolling works, members of the reformist Dzenro, who were at that time on strike. A joint strike committee was formed, and although the workers were defeated, it was emphasized in the

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declaration issued by the strike committee, that they had succeeded in strengthening solidarity between the workers of these enterprises during the course of the struggle.

All the workers of another military engineering works in Osaka, Kikai Kosaku (1,000 employees), fought for two months against the intensification of labor and dismissals. The strike began a short time before the term expired for the delivery of orders for the War Office. Neither the threat of a lockout nor deception of the workers by the administration (fake telegrams about the misfortunes befalling the families of the strikers), neither efforts to influence the workers through their wives nor even the arrest of over 80 strikers in the very heat of the strike—nothing could shake the determination of the workers in their struggle against the burden brought about by the war for a period of two months. Only the united forces of the government and leaders of the "Sodomei" were successful in suppressing the strike.

At the Teppan and Tominaga munitions works, the men went on strike for a 20 per cent increase in wages, for the abolition of part-time work and for a shorter working day.

The workers of two factories belonging to the Nikhon Singo Company (they are in different localities: in Omori and Tsukidzima), went on strike simultaneously, demanding increased wages and the payment of full wages to families of mobilized workers during the time of service of the latter in the army. The strike was declared over the heads of the leaders of the "Sorengo" which is close to the fascists.

Five thousand, five hundred workers of the militarized shipbuilding wharves of the Kavasaki Company and the Kamaisi Kodzan works, fought against intensification of labor and longer hours of work.

Unrest broke out in the Mitsubisi aviation works and the Gasu Denki chemical works in connection with the dismissal of temporary workers.

Six thousand women textile workers, employed in four factories belonging to the Toyo Muslin Company conducted a joint struggle for an increase in their wages which had been reduced to the utmost in connection with the adoption of super-dumping, and against the dismissal of active working women (moreover, these factories were situated in different localities, and the women were members of different reformist trade unions). This action on the part of the women also took place in spite of the reformist leaders. Nevertheless, the latter were successful in preventing the conflict from developing into a strike. They smashed the struggle by obtaining petty concessions from the employers.

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The whole of the 12,000 tramwaymen of Tokio went on strike against the will of the trade-union bureaucracy, and conducted a stubborn struggle for over a month.

These are facts which characterize the struggle of the Japanese proletariat. One could continue this list of strikes and battles still further.

CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN

What are the conclusions to be drawn from the above?

1. All these facts smash the assertion of the Japanese social-chauvinists and reformists about the class struggle of the Japanese proletariat having calmed down and about the workers having passed to class collaboration—an assertion which aims at drawing the proletariat away from active methods of struggle against capital and war. All these indications of the further swing to the Left of the Japanese workers are of even greater importance because these workers carry on their struggle in circumstances of police terror, of bloody license on the part of the fascists and of the treachery of the social-imperialists and at a time when the workers are being persuaded that any display of struggle for their own interests "will lead to weakening the fighting power of the Japanese nation", when every strike is regarded as a "betrayal of the fatherland", and when strikes and mass action of every kind in defense of the interests of the workers is subject to cruel persecution. The facts quoted go to prove that the conditions exist for the development of the struggle of the Japanese working class on the basis of a broad united front, and for the raising of the struggle to a higher level.

2. The consequences of the treacherous policy of the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats and of the social-chauvinists are being felt more and more strongly by the workers, and they are beginning more and more actively to break through the network of class collaboration. The leaders of the "Sodomei", of the Seamen's Union and of the "Dzenro", etc., are against strikes, prohibit strikes; but in spite of this, the rank-and-file members of these unions are more and more frequently going on strike over the heads of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy. And so more and more favorable conditions are being created for winning the reformist workers to the side of the revolutionary trade-union movement. However, in consequence of the extremely feeble work of the supporters of the class-conscious trade-union movement inside the mass reformist and reactionary trade unions, the trade-union bureaucrats are still successful in confusing and deceiving the masses, and in repeatedly keeping them under their influence, in holding them back from the class

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struggle, and in urging definite sections of workers to take the path of class collaboration and chauvinism.

3. The masses are making spontaneous efforts to engage in struggle and are displaying a desire for the united front and trade-union unity. This is a very important, new change in the Japanese working class movement. Ever new sections of workers are being drawn into the struggle. The growing spontaneous dissatisfaction of the masses and their desire for joint action create favorable ground for extending the front of struggle. However, frequently the economic battles undertaken by the Japanese workers take place without the participation of the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement. Concrete cases of strikes, and statistics at our disposal all point to this. Out of 273 strikes (taking the largest) which took place during the last year, 138 were spontaneous, and trade unions, in the overwhelming majority of cases reformist and fascist, took part in 135. As regards the total number of labor conflicts, over two-thirds of them were spontaneous strikes. When the struggle remains spontaneous, the forces of the working class cannot be developed to the full. The absence of a fighting leadership is one of the chief reasons for the defeat of economic battles in Japan.

WHY THE SUPPORTERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT ARE LAGGING BEHIND

What is the main reason why the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement lag behind the rate at which the struggle of the Japanese workers is becoming revolutionized and is developing? For they have had a fair experience in leading the economic struggle during 1931-1932.

In the line they take, the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement quite correctly lay stress upon the development of the strike struggle in behalf of the daily needs of the workers, especially in the war enterprises. However, as far as we know, there are still only very few cases where the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement have participated independently either in struggles which have broken out spontaneously, or in strikes conducted by the reformists.

We know that the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement organized the action of the workers in the munitions factories in Himedzi, the aeroplane construction workers of Nakadzima, at the militarized artificial silk factories in Ivaoka and Tzukusima, and at the ironworks in Muroran. This was all action

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directed against the intensification of labor, for increased wages and against a reduction of the standard of living. The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement organized a strike of weavers at the factories of the Aoume Company in Tokio for increased wages; preparations were made for a strike at ten chemical works, but just before it began our comrades were arrested and the strike did not take place. Strikes in which the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement took part were carried through on several steamers. But all these, with the exception of the Tokio tramwaymen's strike which was also prepared by supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement, were in the main small strikes which took place entirely isolated from each other.

True, the work of the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement is rendered more difficult by the terror. They have not yet completely recovered from the damage sustained in connection with the undermining work carried on by the provocateurs and police spies who made their way into their ranks. All this cannot fail to hinder the establishment of strong contacts with the masses in the factories themselves and cannot fail to retard the work of the revolutionary trade-union organizations.

Without a doubt, conditions of work are extremely difficult. But we also know that both terror and provocation are powerless to stop the work of the revolutionary trade-union movement. We know that the preceding years of struggle have educated splendid forces of rank-and-file activists, who are overcoming all the difficulties that lie in their way, and are carrying on stubborn, self-sacrificing work, and are displaying very considerable initiative in doing so. It is only thanks to the display of great persistence and self-sacrifice that the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement have succeeded in penetrating to the most difficult spheres of work, namely work in the munitions factories, transport, etc., where particularly severe measures have been adopted against their activities. The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement carried on bold anti-war work in the military-naval arsenal of Kure, where there are 25,000 workers, and in Hirosima (one of the chief military bases.) Here they arranged the issue of a works' newspaper entitled *The Forward*. At the Odzi military powder works, at the Nakadzima and Isikavadzima avio-construction works, and at the Tokio Gasu works, etc., they have been trying to rouse the workers to engage in struggle.

It can be seen from information published during the last few months in the press concerning the arrests made among the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement, that they have been working on the railways, among loaders, among the metal

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workers, with a view to re-establishing their organizations. In the military port of Kura, 20 comrades were arrested for revolutionary work. In April (1934), the police press reported the existence of a revolutionary organization in Hirosima, which they had allegedly succeeded in smashing. However, in September, 1934, the police were compelled to admit that during the raid on the arsenal in Kura, among those arrested were found members of the Hirosima revolutionary organization which had allegedly been smashed up in April. These cases point to the fact that comrades working in the localities have in individual cases been successful in finding the methods of approaching the masses which correspond to the local conditions and to the given period. The central organ of the Party, the *Sekki,* when dealing with the anti-war struggle in the Himedzi district, noted the initiative displayed by Party workers in the locality in developing anti-war work in that district.

Self-sacrificing work on the part of the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement does not, however, give the results it should, for they often work in the dark, without any leadership, and without taking into account the changes taking place in the general situation inside the country.

Changes in the working class movement demand new methods and new forms of struggle to win the broad masses to the side of the revolutionary movement, changes in the form and methods of struggle against the social-imperialists; they demand increased mass work, an increased struggle against reformism and fascism.

THE NEED TO CREATE A BROAD UNITED FRONT

The Communist Party and the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement of Japan should see to it that the determined struggle to create a broad united front with the reformist trade-union organizations against the capitalist offensive of fascism and war occupies the central position in all their work.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement in Japan do not reckon with the changes in the situation. The tactics of the broad united front have still not become part of the system of their work and struggle. The strike of the Tokio tramwaymen could have developed into an extremely powerful struggle—could have spread beyond the confines of Tokio, had the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement, during the strike, ensured the operation of a broad united front and had they unmasked and paralyzed the treacherous tactics of the reformists. A fine opportunity presented itself for establishing a broad united front. Under pressure from the masses, about 20 reformist organizations in Tokio,

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including the leaders of the Right "Kumiai Kaigi" and "Sodomei", were forced to declare themselves in support of the strikers. The strike of the Ozaki tramwaymen was ripening. But the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement did not succeed in making use of this situation to consolidate the united front, and the broad wave of solidarity merely took the shape of material assistance to the strikers. This gave the reformists an unimpeded opportunity of pursuing their tactics of negotiating behind the scenes and of isolating the strikers. The fact that the strikers were isolated deprived them of the opportunity of organizing energetic mass action (meetings, demonstrations, picketing) against the owners and strike-breakers, and led to the strike being smashed.

In every strike and in every concrete case where the workers express their indignation against exploitation, the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement must endeavor to bring about the united front of all the workers in the given enterprise, by making proposals to the rank-and-file members and the reformist trade unions and to the reformist trade-union organization, as well as to rank-and-file members of the fascist trade unions that a united front be established. If the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement strain all their efforts to extend the struggle beyond the bounds of the given enterprise, by arranging unity of action conferences in the localities and according to industry, then if ceaseless work is carried on among the masses, joint action of this kind on the part of the workers will have a marked effect upon the outcome of the struggle, and will draw broad sections of unorganized workers into the struggle. Only on the basis of approximately such activities can a broad united front of struggle be set up against the bourgeois-landlord government and against fascism and war.

The realization of this task demands that the Communist Party of Japan and the revolutionary trade-union movement make *a radical turn in the struggle to win over the masses. The main stress must be laid upon work in the reformist and fascist trade unions, and in other mass organizations of a legal and semi-legal character*, in which the basic masses of organized workers are concentrated, and which thus exert influence over considerable sections of the Japanese proletariat.

It is quite clear that unless a mass-opposition movement and mass-opposition groups are established in these organizations—instead of the self-isolation and confinement in sectarian grorups as has hitherto been the case—unless a sensitive, individual approach is made to each worker who is in the ranks of the fascist and reformist organizations, unless shape is given at the right time to the demands advanced by the workers, and unless their daily struggle is organized

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(in spite of the resistance of the reformist and fascist leaders), there can be no question of mass-economic battles, of revolutionizing these battles, of leading the workers to mass-political strikes, and of decisive battle in a broad united front against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war.

In the seamen's union (Kayin kumiai) which controls all the work done among sailors, the dissatisfaction which the membership feels towards the leaders of the union has matured long ago. In consequence of the extremely feeble work of our comrades, the fascists have made use of these moods to strengthen their influence inside the union. If the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement do not set their work going in all the reformist unions, it is possible that the same thing will be repeated there as has taken place in the seamen's union (it is a known fact that strong dissatisfaction exists among the members of many reformist trade unions), *i. e.*, the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement will find themselves caught unawares.

Will it be possible for the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement to represent the interests of the workers in the enterprises, to know what interests each worker, to give shape to their daily demands, to prepare the struggle for these demands, to unmask the enemies of the proletariat and to consolidate the forces of the working masses for the struggle against exploitation and oppression, if they are entirely divorced from the broad masses?

THE MANEUVERS OF THE TRADE-UNION BUREAUCRATS

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement correctly define the essence of the policy of Japanese Social-Democracy, when they declare it to be a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie at all costs, as a social-chauvinist, social-imperialist policy. But within the bounds of this line of class collaboration, the social-chauvinists resort to extremely flexible methods of deceiving the masses, the real meaning of which the worker in the reformist union cannot understand by himself, unless we set our own tactics and enlightening work in opposition to these methods. While they endeavor to fulfill the task set them, namely, of reconciling the exploiters and exploited, the social-imperialist agents of the bourgeoisie adopt a pose of defending the interests of the workers. With a view of suppressing the growing dissatisfaction of the workers, they haggle from time to time with the individual owners for one or other petty concession for separate groups of workers, while doing nothing and not wishing to do anything to improve the position of the working class as a whole, though they are continually talking

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about the difficult position of the workers. For instance, last year about 200 labor conflicts took place among the seamen; the leaders of the reformist unions settled the conflict on the Toyo Mosu and many others with the owners "in a peaceful fashion". Although as a result of the conflicts extremely insignificant concessions were obtained, a section of the workers got the impression that the trade-union bureaucrats were defending their interests.

The trade-union bureaucrats undertake measures of a kind to help the workers, not infrequently with the money of the workers themselves. For example: the "Sodomei" has a workers' bank, the basic capital of which consists of workers' deposits. If two trustworthy members of the union agree to vouch for him, a depositor applying to the bank receives short-term credit to an extent which sometimes exceeds his own deposit. In exceptional cases, when it is to the advantage of the trade-union bureaucrats, credit is allowed to workers who are not depositors. The "Sodomei" equips so-called "workers' homes", where club and other "cultural work" is carried on. There are workshops in the "workers' homes". According to the report of Nisio, the General Secretary of the "Sodomei", they have built 18 "workers' homes". The seamen's union, which is in receipt of considerable subsidies from the government (300-400 thousand yen) spent (according to the union's report) about 200 thousand yet out of this money in assistance to unemployed (loans, organization of all kinds of auxiliary works, etc.). The seamen's union has the biggest clubs, lodging houses, etc., in the big ports. Moreover, there were 300 cases of help of one kind or another being given from the funds of this union to seamen (sickness, accidents, small loans for travelling home after dismissal, etc.).

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement with their extremely feeble work in the reformist mass trade unions, are not in a position to carry on a day-to-day exposure of the real meaning of the measures adopted, and the demagogy displayed by the reformist leaders with a view to camouflaging their policy of support for the Japanese bourgeoisie and the bourgeois-landlord government. The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement stand apart from these unions, and therefore cannot carry on enlightenment work and rally the masses of the members to win leading positions in their unions in the localities and at the center, to secure control over the mutual benefit and trade-union funds, which are at present being squandered by the trade-union bureaucrats.

THE DEMAGOGY OF THE FASCISTS

The weakness of the work carried on in the reformist trade

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unions threatens later to deepen the split in the ranks of the working class. The fascists have of late been developing particularly active work among the masses, demagogically depicting themselves as the "defenders" of the workers' interests, making use of and inculcating still further chauvinistic sentiments among the workers, and camouflaging their policy with demagogic anti-capitalist phrases; and they are now getting a grip upon the workers who are dissatisfied with the reformists. For instance, the fascists put forward demands of this kind: equal pay for equal work, state insurance for the unemployed, recognition of the right to strike and to organize unions, and demands for various aspects of labor legislation, etc.—*i.e.*, more radical demands than those put forward by the reformists.

Although they are opponents of strikes, the fascists at times conduct small strikes, in order to penetrate into the ranks of the working class. Thus, they conducted a strike of navvies in the Miyagi prefectorate against dismissals and for an increase in benefits, in case of being discharged. At one chemical factory, where young workers are in receipt of 70 sen a day, the fascists declared that this was unjust, and organized a strike for increased wages, and got the men a raise. We know of still more facts of this kind. As a result the fascists are succeeding in bringing certain sections of the proletariat to their side.

Of late the fascists can boast of certain organizational successes; the number of members in the existing fascist organizations has increased, and new organizations have been established. The chief of them, the Sangyo kurabu, is trying to spread its influence among the workers employed in the big military undertakings (their membership now is 17,000 whereas last year it was 11,000). A union has been newly organized in the Yavata ironworks combine, and covers about 4,000 workers. Fascist organizations have been, or are being, organized in the localities. Some of the fascists are making use of the slogan of trade-union unity which is popular among the masses, and make use of this slogan to unite their small unions with the Right-reformist organizations, thus extending their own mass base.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement are doing nothing to oppose these efforts of the fascists to secure control over those organizations whose members are disillusioned in the reformists; and they only feebly unmask the demagogy of the fascists.

Cannot the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement make the proposal to the rank-and-file members of fascist unions that a joint strike be carried through on behalf of the demands advanced by the fascists for demagogic purposes? And then in the course of the mass strike, really directed against oppression and

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exploitation, the fascists will not only drop out of the struggle, but will do their utmost to smash the strike and thus reveal their real face to the masses. This would be a convenient opportunity for the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement to unmask the demagogy of the fascists.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement must fight against the establishment of fascist trade unions. But where these unions have already been formed, we must penetrate into them and work inside them. If we do not do this, the fascists will without doubt succeed in taking a further step towards realizing their task of consolidating their positions in the factories, of ideologically disarming the proletariat and deepening the split in the Japanese trade-union movement.

The struggle carried on in a broad united front only increases the fighting power of the working class. An inalienable condition essential for this is unity of the trade-union movement on the basis of the class struggle and trade-union democracy. The Japanese workers need powerful united fighting trade-union organizations.

THE TACTICS OF THE RIGHT REFORMIST TRADE-UNION LEADERS

The workers of Japan are striving to bring about unity in the trade unions for the purpose of defending their interests against the capitalists. This desire on the part of the masses is so strong, that the leaders of the Right trade unions (affiliated to the "Svakai taisiuto" and the "Kumiai kaigi") are forced to hide their splitting policy behind shouts about unity. The Right leaders are carrying on a noisy campaign for unity; but what is behind all their clatter?

1. They do not want to hear about unity either with the revolutionary trade unions or even with the unions in opposition to them, like the present "Hiogikai". What is more, the Right leaders are waging a violent struggle against these trade-union organizations. The Right leaders do not even ask the opinion of their own members, when they expel all those who are dissatisfied and especially those who are in the opposition. The C.C. of the Right reformist unions have appropriated to themselves the right of engaging in the uncontrolled expulsion from the union of individual members and of whole groups. The splitting policy of the leaders of the Kumiai kaigi has gone so far that they rejected the proposal of the "Hiogikai" unions which oppose them, to unite the May Day demonstrations of the unions in 1934.

2. The most Right reformist trade-union movement is, as hitherto, split into several independent federations: the "Sodomei", "Dzenro", "Sorengo", "Rodo sorremei", and others. The Right

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reformist leaders are shouting with all their might about trade-union unity, but they have not even united these federations which differ in no way from each other. They have limited themselves to forming the "Kumiai kaigi", which is merely a consultative organ of these federations, of the seamen's union, etc., and is composed exclusively of leading officials. The "Kumiai kaigi" does not muster together the forces of the workers in defense of their interests; it is engaged in persuading the workers that they must obtain alms from the government and collaborate with the capitalists.

3. It is becoming more and more clear of late that the Right leaders will not succeed in suppressing the desire of the masses for unity, by setting up the "Kumiai kaigi". The Right leaders have themselves been talking about uniting the "Sodomei" and the "Dzenro". But they get no further than mere talk. Even in these conversations, the question is not raised of real unity among the trade unions in one and the same branch of industry, which belong to these various federations. It is again a question of unity merely at the top, on the lines of the "Kumiai kaigi". The reformists are maintaining the present position, where there are several small trade unions in one and the same factory and in one and the same branch of industry. These unions differ in no way from each other, except that they belong to some federation or other which, in turn, differ from each other mainly in that some leader or clique of leaders rules the roost in each of these. Every Right reformist federation of trade unions is composed of innumerable small and minute trade unions, which themselves fall into still smaller groups. It is enough to give the official figures of these federations themselves: the "Sodomei", for example, has 48,000 members; but it is split into 78 (!) unions; the "Dzenro" has 42,000 members, split into 47 unions; the "Sorengo"—27,000 members, in 37 unions; the Rodo sorromei —8,000 in 20 unions.

What mockery of the workers and all their hopes are words about unity on the lips of those very trade-union bureaucrats who maintain such divided trade unions in their own camp!

Side by side with this unity from above of the trade unions of the "Kumiai kaigi", there exists yet another organization of trade unions on a national scale—the "Dazenkoku hiogikai". This organization of trade unions, as a result of pressure from below, is against the policy of class collaboration pursued by the reformist and fascist trade unions, and is against fascism and war.

THE STRUGGLE FOR REAL TRADE-UNION UNITY

The "Hiogikai" is uniting the hitherto scattered individual trade

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unions which now form part of its composition. However, the "Hiogikai" is still sectarian in its attitude towards the struggle for unity of trade unions of all shades. The "Hiogikai", for example, has not sought unity even with the unions which are close to it like the transport workers' federation, the municipal workers' union, the Tokio gasworkers' union, etc. And yet, *if the "Hiogikai" really wants to bring about unity of all the trade unions, it should strive first and foremost to secure unity with the trade unions which are more "Left" than the "Hiogikai", and take the initiative in uniting all trade unions in Japan, in all branches of industry, in every town and region, and on a natioal scale.*

The uprecedented disunity which exists in the trade unions of Japan, and the absence of trade-union democracy in the Right and fascist unions, is one of the most important reasons why the trade-union bureaucrats are successful in pursuing their treacherous policy.

If each and every Communist and supporter of the revolutionary trade-union movement were members of the legal trade unions which exist in the factories where they work, then—and only then —would the advanced workers be in a position to develop the struggle in actual practice against the splitting policy of the trade-union bureaucrats, on behalf of real trade-union unity, against the uncontrolled rule of the treacherous leaders, on behalf of trade-union democracy, and to ensure that the rank and file of the membership, and they alone, define the policy of each and every trade union. Obviously the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement must take upon themselves the initiative in the fight for trade-union unity, and head the struggle themselves.

The changed situation confronts the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement in Japan with new, extremely complicated tasks. These tasks require a radical reconstruction of the whole of the trade-union work. There is not the slightest doubt that the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement will determinedly carry out this reconstruction.

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Lenin on the Elements of Materialist Dialectics

[From the Philosophical Notebooks, p. 211 (Russ.).
Abstract of Hegel's *Science of Logic*]

1. *Objectivity* of observation, not examples, not unrepresentative forms but the thing in itself.
2. Totality of the manifold *relations* of the thing to others.
3. The development of the thing (respective the phenomenon), its own movement, its own life.
4. The inner contradictory *tendencies* (and sides) in the thing.
5. The thing (appearance, etc.) as sum and *unity of opposites.*
6. The *struggle* respective the unfolding of the opposites, the contradiction of the tendencies, etc.
7. The union of analysis and synthesis. The splitting up into the separate parts and the totality, the summation of these parts together.
8. The relations of each thing (appearance, etc.) are not only manifold, but general, universal. Each thing (appearance, process, etc.) is connected with *every other.*
9. Not only unity of opposites but *transitions* of *each* determination, quality, feature, side, property in *every* other (into its opposite?)
10. An infinite process of revealing of *new* sides, relations, etc.
11. An infinite process of *deepening* of cognition of the thing, appearance, process, etc., by men; from appearance to essence and from less deep to deeper essence.
12. From co-existence to causality and from one form of connection and reciprocal dependence to another, deeper, and more general.
13. The repetition of certain features, properties, etc., of the lower stage in the higher, and
14. Apparent return to the old (negation of the negation).
15. The struggle of content with form and vice-versa. The throwing off of the form, transformation of the content.
16. Transition of quantity into quality and *vice-versa.*

(15 and 16 are examples of 9.)

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Some Problems of Party Work in the Countryside

By LOUISE SCOTT

THE possibility of establishing our revolutionary leadership over the toilers of the countryside is greater today than it has ever been before. Economic ruin faces millions of farmers in the United States; hundreds of thousands are driven into the ranks of the semi-proletariat (farmers who having lost their means of production through cattle destruction, etc., must work part time for wages); an ever-increasing army of unemployed agricultural and small town workers receive only $4 to $5 monthly relief checks.

The slowly gathering disillusionment of small and middle farmers with New Deal policies (corn-hog referendum in the Middle West), the rising discontent reflected in mass pressure on leaders of old-line organizations, driving them to "Left" maneuvers (Chalmers, vice-president of the Iowa Farmers Union, talking strike at State convention; united front struggle for relief agreed to by Holiday leaders in North Dakota), the growth of numerous independent fighting unions, leagues, and associations of agricultural and small-town workers (onion workers' strike in Ohio)—make it imperative that we immediately intensify our work in the countryside.

While we fail to utilize this favorable objective situation, finance capital makes every effort to consolidate a mass base amongst the discontented rural petty bourgeoisie. Through the rich farmers and capitalist elements in the countryside, aided by New Deal demagogic promises, third-party maneuvers and the rejuvenation of old-line farmer organizations (Farmers Union, Farmer-Labor Progressive Alliance), Wall Street hastens to strengthen its hold over the ruined small and middle farmers. An increasingly important role in the pro-capitalist regimentation of the countryside will be played by the County Committees of the County Production Control Associations, of which some four thousand have been organized throughout the country under the direct control and supervision of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Through such hand-picked organiza-

The scope of this article does not include problems of the South.

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tions, dominated by the landlords and bigger farmers who are reaping benefits from crop reduction schemes, the voice of Wall Street speaks to the countryside more clearly month by month. In various and devious ways capital seeks to direct the confused militancy of the middle section of the rural population against the most destitute farmers (the poor, marginal, and semi-proletarian), against the agricultural laborers and the workers in towns and cities.

In mid-1933 the Extraordinary Party Conference, in its "Resolution on the Farmers' Movement", warned the Party:

> "Along with the further growth, extension and sharpening of the mass struggle of the farmers, finance capital and its various agents in the form of bourgeois parties will inevitably try to get possession of the farmer masses politically and direct them in a struggle against the working masses. Bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolution which is increasing along with the revolutionary upsurge is compelled to seek for itself a mass social base, putting into operation the weapon of social trickery, all kinds of social demagogy, and playing on the numerous petty-bourgeois prejudices of the farming masses."

Hand in hand with these preparations goes the openly fascist drive against the proletarian and poorest strata of the farm population, in order to divide and subdue the more militant elements:

1. Settling the dispossessed and "submarginal" farmers, migratory workers and "stranded" industrial families on subsistence farms, where, under strict government control, in "decentralized rural industrial communities" (similar to the Ford scheme), or adjoining big ranches and large plantations (Santa Clara Valley in California, cotton belt in Texas), cheap labor will be provided for the bosses.

2. Cutting off direct relief in rural communities, driving more of the farm youth into C.C.C. camps, and placing the able-bodied men (especially those who have led local struggles for relief) on construction jobs which more and more resemble forced labor camps.

An objective shifting and sharpening of class lines is taking place in the countryside today. This is not yet, however, clearly reflected in the political thinking of any large number of rural toilers, *largely* because the Party is not playing a decisive role in the leadership of their struggles (with the exception of the Negro sharecroppers in the South, the agricultural workers in California, and the farmers in some counties in the Northwest).

In fact, unless immediate steps on our part are taken, we may find ourselves isolated from the countryside. Especially must we intensify our work in those rural areas where bourgeois third-party movements are most rapidly gaining headway (Minnesota, Wisconsin, the Dakotas), and in those districts where our influence

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among the proletariat is strongest (Michigan, Ohio, Chicago, Pennsylvania, New York, California).

> "The Communist Parties must direct their chief attention in the villages to those districts which, owing to their nearness to big proletarian centers, to their large proportion of farm workers, the national composition of the population, their significance from the point of view of supplying the city proletariat with food or for any other reason, will play an important role in mass political strikes, in the course of the struggle against war and in the decisive fights for the proletarian dictatorship." (Organizational Tasks of the Communist Parties in the Farm Communities," E.C.C.I., 1933.)

Our leading comrades, including those in the concentration Districts, can no longer ignore their task of building the Party and giving leadership to the Party members carrying on activity among agricultural workers and toiling farmers. This task is not in contradiction to the main concentration of every Party organization on the leadership of the workers' struggles in the basic industries. But it is the dialectics of Leninism that the stronger the movement of the proletariat, the more urgent becomes the question of winning influence over the masses of non-proletarian toilers, of whom the largest section is the poor, small, and middle farmers. Thus, strengthening of agrarian work becomes a task of the concentration Districts as well as of the Districts in areas distant from the industrial centers.

Special problems arise in connection with the carrying on of Party work in rural areas. It is intended here to outline some of the immediate difficulties and weaknesses of Party activity in the countryside outside the South, and to suggest a few general methods which will improve our work. The hope is that this article will stimulate the comrades in the field to discuss much more concretely their own experiences and problems through the Party press, in the Section and District Committees. It is especially necessary that comrades active in mass work among farm workers and rural proletariat (California and South Jersey), should pass on their experiences to the Party as a whole through articles and other material in the press.

HOW IS THE PARTY CARRYING OUT ITS TASK OF LEADERSHIP?

The guiding force for carrying out our Party work is the unit or nucleus. The Party unit in an agrarian community should represent the leadership of the proletariat in the fight of the masses against their exploiters, its task to win the majority of toilers in the neighborhood to the revolutionary struggle for a workers' and farmers' government, rallying them around a clear class struggle program of immediate demands.

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Yet this is far from the situation of our units in the rural areas. In a number of Districts (Dakotas, Montana, Minnesota, Nebraska), where up to half the Party membership is from the farms and villages, and where third-party movements are actively maneuvering for a base, special guidance on how to carry on the ideological struggle against reformism, how to win to our program the ruined farm population and petty bourgeoisie of the small towns seeking a way out of the crisis, is not given. At the same time, little or no work is carried on inside the reformist organizations (cooperatives, Grange, clubs, churches) in order to reach the vast number of poor farmers and rural workers under their influence. In addition, comrades leading the work of the Left-Wing farm organizations are left to carry on without check-up or guidance from the Section and District centers, with the result that these organizations become either narrow duplicates of the Party, or develop sporadically and spontaneously along petty-bourgeois reformist or opportunist lines.

In other Districts where mass struggles of farmers and farm workers have taken place in the recent past under reactionary and reformist leadership, where such mass movements are again developing spontaneously (Wisc., N. Y., Pa., Ohio, Ill., etc) the Party leadership has shown itself unaware of such movements until very late, and is not preparing the Party to lead the coming struggles.

The District leadership of the Party as a whole gives no serious attention to the agrarian units. Problems of work in the countryside are not regularly taken up in the District Bureaus, and when a discussion is held it is usually the last point on the agenda. District Bureau comrades from the trade unions do not participate, and the guidance of work of fractions in mass organizations is neglected. It is not unusual to find leading Party comrades completely ignoring the class lines in the countryside by lumping the entire rural population into the category of "the farmers". Making the excuse that they are not acquainted with our program for farmers, or with the political and economic problems of farmers and agricultural workers in the territory, the Section and District leaderships seldom call in comrades leading the mass work, together with members from the agrarian units, to discuss Party work in the countryside. Too often when these comrades are summoned to the center, it is not to help them solve their problems of rural work, but to issue mechanical instructions that the "farmers must be mobilized" for support of this or that industrial struggle. Mass campaigns are instituted without consideration or discussion of how these connect with local problems.

Rank-and-file Party members in the countryside, as well as the agrarian organizers, receiving neither guidance in fraction work or guidance of policy from the leadership of the district, have tended

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to turn to a center other than the usual Party center for leadership. The dangerous habit has developed of carrying on rural work separately from the District and Section leaderships of the Party, under a sort of "special dispensation" from the national fraction of the United Farmers' League or the Farmers' National Committee for Action. Instead of the Districts taking responsible leadership of Party work in the countryside, certain Party members have been assigned to the agrarian field to act as leaders of the farm organizational work independently of the Party in the District. Since the leading comrades in the national agrarian work are also leaders of the national Left-Wing farmers' fractions, the orientation of the work they directed has been practically entirely toward farmers.

The results of these bad practices have been of two kinds: Either functioning units are not built, Party members acting only as members of a fraction in these places; or where Party units are set up, they lead a narrow mechanical inner life, disconnected from the activities and life of the neighborhood. In both cases, our work tends to become centered around the conditions and problems of farmers, not of the other sections of toilers in the community.

UNIT LIFE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Since the rural units may be 100 miles from Section headquarters and two or three hundred miles from the District office, no Party functionary may visit some of the units for months or even a year! Even contact or check-up by mail is sporadic and formal. This, together with the weaknesses noted above, tends to make for disheartening the Party forces in the countryside and for a generally low level of unit life.

Agrarian units are chiefly composed of poor and small farmers, with a few militant middle farmers. It is safe to say that a large number of these are foreign-born, especially in the Northwest. Few agricultural workers or farm hands have been drawn in; town workers are not recruited into these units, even though the unit may meet within a mile or two of a small semi-industrial town. As a result, there are cases in which the Party, strongly organized in the countryside, holds meetings and demonstrations in the county seat without being able to rally any considerable section of the town proletariat to its support. Emboldened by the hostility or indifference of the town workers, the authorities are able to carry on wholesale terrorization of the militant farmers and farm workers (Nebr., Wisc., etc.).

A survey of unit members would probably show 35 to 45 years as the average age. There are few women. Units range in size

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from 6 to 20, meeting irregularly (from twice a month to once in three months) with an average attendance of half to two-thirds of the registered membership. Meetings are held evenings at farmhouses to which unit members must drive or walk from 2 to 30 miles.

Unit meetings are in general unprepared, since distances make it difficult for a unit bureau to get together. The unit organizer reads the District Organizer Bulletin, reviews correspondence; assigns tasks, passes out tickets to be sold; or gives collection lists, signature blanks, leaflets, for distribution. With little or no discussion of the purpose of the unit task and how it can best be carried out in the community, collective responsibility is seldom established. Work usually falls on the shoulders of the same few members of the unit who "know how to do it". So mechanical has this procedure become in some units that enthusiastic new members drop out because their initiative, their suggestions, are smothered by routine. In other cases, the less active, less class-conscious, members of the unit may continue for months attending meetings without once being given, or accepting, even a small task. Such members come to believe that Party membership carries no responsibility except to "be on the right side of the barricades when the revolution comes". On the other hand, the few active Party members, working without collective leadership and Party control, finding themselves overburdened with work and isolated from the mass of poor farmers and farm workers in their community, tend to become discouraged and pessimistic.

After a unit meeting is over it is not unusual to hear a lively discussion on local grievances with relief distribution, road work, the county agent, schools, grievances against the local cooperative, taxes, price of feed, etc. Asking the comrades why these questions were not raised in the unit meeting and plans laid to mobilize the workers and poor farmers of the community in active resistance, you will get answers such as: "It wasn't on the order of business", "We have too many other things to do"; "What's the business of the U.F.L.?"; "We Party members can't talk to neighbors about these things because they're scared of us 'reds'"; "The other farmers won't fight—have to let them starve some more"; or, even more commonly, "I did tell the relief director [or county agent or banker] when I was in the other day what I think about such and such a case". This latter kind of individual action is often considered very effective by our comrades because it may temporarily scare the small local officials, but it doesn't win mass suport for our comrades nor educate the local workers and farmers in the class struggle. Rather, it tends to make our neighbors regard our militant comrade as a kind of "Mr. Fix-it", eventually making easier a fascist attack on these

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isolated comrades when the authorities find they have no mass base.

Questions of political education; literature; the Party and Left-Wing press; recruiting; fraction work for raising the political level of the militant mass organizations (U.F.L., etc.); work in local reformist organizations (Grange, Community Club, cooperatives, etc.); the united front; systematic exposure of local Farmer-Labor, Progressive, Socialist politicians; the fight against local fascist developments—these vital problems are not regularly taken up in the agrarian units. Neither do we find these units drawn into the wider life of the District, developing a Communist analysis of the political situation in the state and the New Deal as it effects the local workers and farmers, although these are the questions raised by non-Party farmers which our comrades must answer every day. Nor are discussions organized dealing with conditions and struggles of workers and unemployed in nearby towns and cities, or nationwide problems of the class struggle, strikes, national conferences, etc.

PARTY GUIDANCE OF MASS WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE *

This low level of political life in our agrarian units holds back the development of a mass movement around our program. Without a correct understanding of fraction work, our Left-Wing farmer locals in the majority of places are small, disconnected from the masses, and are not developing in size or influence in the community. In many units comrades regard the local of the Left-Wing mass organization as a sort of Communist Party under another name, into which they introduce the Party campaigns just as they come from the District, unadapted and divorced from the local problems. In fact some comrades quite seriously raise the question, "Why is the Party trying to hide behind the U.F.L.?" When the local begins to dwindle away, comrades decide that the farmers "aren't revolutionary enough" for our organizations. Sometimes they try to meet this situation by abandoning the attempt to carry on mass work or build a mass organization and by turning the remnants of the local into a Party unit!

The insufficient clarification of our comrades in the agrarian units on questions of building the united front in the countryside leads to a narrowing of their approach to only those militant farmers who are ready to accept the class struggle program of the U.F.L. The general orientation of work has been to build and strengthen

* In order to give more concrete and detailed experiences of mass work among the apricultural and rural proletariat (in California, Colorado and South Jersey, the only places where the Party has carried on such mass work), this question deserves to be taken up in a separate article.

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the U.F.L. (or Michigan Farmers' League, etc.)—local, county and State—before beginning building the united front. For instance, a number of leading comrades in a certain State debated for several weeks whether to call a State convention of the U.F.L. or a united front conference, and decided on the former "because we're not strong enough yet for the united front".

Reflecting the insufficient political understanding of Communist mass work and the Left-sectarian character of most of our organizational efforts to date, as well as the many real objective difficulties we face in the countryside today, some comrades active in the farm work have raised the question: Can we, in the present period, hope to build the U.F.L. into a mass organization? To place this question by itself is like asking whether the toiling and exploited farmers in the United States can be won to the support of a program to save them from ruin; the answer of every Communist would of course be in the affirmative. It would serve to clarify our problems better if we put the question this way: Is the U.F.L. (or the Michigan Farmers' League, United Farmers' Protective Ass'n., etc.) our only method of leading the masses in the countryside along class struggle lines? If we examine our work from this point of view, we find that most of our comrades in the farm work have been suffering from "organizational inflexibility". By arbitrarily demanding that the militant farmers in the countryside be organized in our Left-wing locals, we have isolated them from their more backward neighbors and lost contact with the masses of farmers still affiliated to the reformist and capitalist controlled groups. Party comrades in agrarian work have not yet learned how to go among farmers in Right-wing organizations and carry on revolutionary work, how to adapt our tactics to win the not yet class-conscious farmers.

Our comrades' failure to organize in the field, to concretize and localize the Party program through unit discussions and collective work in properly directed fractions has contributed to the falling off of mass farm struggles during the recent period. At two national united front conferences, held under the leadership of the Party, delegates representing thousands of farmers, unorganized and organized in various reformist as well as militant organizations, accepted as just and necessary our program of class struggle demands. Nevertheless, this program has remained largely formal and on paper, because the Party members who should lead the development of these struggles were not clear either how to reach the masses of farmers not yet acquainted with our program or as to what forms of immediate action to propose to the masses for the realization of all or some of these demands.

For example, the Chicago program with its revolutionary call for

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cancellation of poor farmers' debts, met with enthusiastic response from the farmers, both at the conference and in field meetings. But neither the leading Party fraction at this conference nor the Party comrades responsible for carrying this program into action discussed sufficiently the concrete forms which this action could assume (for instance, Committees of Action to send delegations and resolutions to county, State, and national authorities, bankers, insurance companies, etc., demanding cancellation of farmer So-and-So's indebtedness; demonstrations at insurance offices and banks; mobilization of mass sentiment for cancellation of back taxes, etc.). Nor were steps taken for more than a year after the Conference to penetrate the locals of old-line farm organizations with this program, although contacts and forces were available even within the ranks of the Party. The result was that this demand never became a reality in the minds of the poor farmers, and the Communists, by putting forward as an immediate issue a demand which remained unreal to the masses, lost an excellent opportunity to develop the class struggle in the countryside.

Our slowness in developing a mass campaign around the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill is largely due to this same failure to bring the Bill to the countryside as a burning reality linked up with local grievances. Many of our own comrades still regard the Bill as a "gesture" of the Communist Party which we cannot consider seriously or expect to have passed by Congress. The same attitude appeared in the ranks of the Party toward the Unemployment Insurance Bill several years ago, and was overcome only through training every member of the Party to understand and present the Bill to the workers in the simplest form and in the most intimate terms.

The correction of these mistakes in the Party work among the farmers depends upon correct political and organizational guidance of the rural units and fractions by the Districts and Sections. The most vital questions facing comrades in the mass work today are: How to translate our national farm programs (U.F.L., Chicago Conference, the Sioux Falls Conference program) into local *action* (not agitation alone) around concrete local demands which can draw into motion the exploited but as yet politically backward elements; how to mobilize the masses for the next step in the struggle; how to develop new cadres of leadership; and how to broaden out the Party influence from the radicalized farmers to reach all sections of toilers in the countryside, organized and unorganized.

HOW CAN WE IMPROVE PARTY WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE?

1. Improvement of Party life and work in rural areas will not result only from the correction of weaknesses in agrarian units. We

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must educate the entire membership of the Party in our agrarian policy and the situation in the countryside today. This requires a continuous education of the entire Party membership around the question of building the "united revolutionary front" between the industrial proletariat and the exploited toilers of the countryside. Where personal contact between the two groups is possible, as in some of the concentration Districts, we should bring in delegations of farmers to strike headquarters, onto the picket lines, and carry on joint actions with the Unemployment Councils; workers from the cities and towns can be led to aid farmers in county protest actions, relief, eviction and foreclosure fights. In other parts of the country this solidarity must be built by popularizing such joint activities, collecting relief, sending resolutions, joint relief struggles, etc.; by acquainting the town workers with conditions in the countryside, and by bringing always before farmers the revolutionary significance of the joint fight against the exploiters under the leadership of the proletariat.

One of the most important methods of improving our Party work has scarcely been utilized—the press. To date the *Daily Worker* has only occasionally published material on the agrarian question, and the Farm Correspondence page on Thursday is extremely weak. One of the reasons for this is that few rural Party members subscribe to the *Daily Worker*, and bundle orders, when they are taken, are for the Saturday edition. If material on agrarian problems would appear on Saturday, with the Party Life column discussing problems of rural work in this edition, combined with a special drive to build the circulation of the Saturday edition in the countryside, closer contact between the Party and non-Party workers in industrial areas, between the farmers and farm workers, could be established. The language press and the publications of the mass organizations should also undertake to give guidance on how to work in the countryside. With improvement in the political contents of the *Farmers National Weekly*, strengthening its united front appeal and giving more attention to problems of the rural proletariat and city workers in their relation to the farmers' movement, its circulation can become a powerful method of broadening the movement.

The initiation of a thorough discussion of Party work in the rural areas in the press, in all District and Section Committees, and in all village, town, and county units, is necessary if we are to carry through successfully our task of building a mass Labor Party and winning the rural population for the fight against fascism and war.

2. Through the correct application of Party structural principles, responsibility for developing agrarian work can be made an integral part of the task of each District. We must liquidate once

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and for all any tendencies toward "parallel" leadership of agrarian work in the Party, but not by liquidating our agrarian work! Rather, the leadership of each District must become informed on the problems of the various strata of farm population, the alignment of class forces and the strategic points for concentration in the District. A check-up by each District Bureau of the composition, functioning and activities of Party units in the small towns and in the countryside is necessary. Reports on the situation in the countryside and proposals for development of the rural work should be discussed regularly by the District Bureau, and a control established over the carrying out of all decisions. The organization and leadership of correct fraction work must be seriously undertaken.

THE ORGANIZATION OF RURAL UNITS

3. The strengthening of the Party in the countryside depends upon drawing in more proletarian elements (village workers, farm hands, poorest farmers) in order to provide a healthier base for our work. Experience in the East has shown that the unit should concentrate its life around the local town or village. Where this can be done in the Western farming areas, it will help to break down the isolation of the rural workers and farmers from the small town proletariat and semi-proletariat. A special struggle must be carried on to recruit the scattered farm workers and poor farmers working part-time for wages—who are to be found in every rural community—into the Party, and as rapidly as possible, develop them for leadership. Sympathetic women, young farmers, young workers, and more American elements, should at once be drawn in and activized.

The first task of every unit is to become acquainted with the various groups of workers in its township or community; to be able to analyze their problems, explain to them in simple language on the basis of everyday experience how to struggle against the local exploiters; to initiate, support and lead organized action in their interests; to learn how to present the Party program to each of these groups. Each agrarian unit should select a point of concentration, such as a local saw mill, cannery, lumber camp, fishery, mine, factory, Indian reservation, construction project (C.W.A., P.W.A., etc.), condensary, creamery, flour mill, large farm, or any enterprise employing wage workers even though on a part-time basis.

Each member of the unit must be assigned responsibility for work among a given group or section of the local toilers, reporting regularly to the unit on the progress of the work. This includes work among members of the cooperative, Grange, Farmers' Union, Holiday, community club, language, fraternal, and benefit societies and lodges,

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A. F. of L. locals, relief projects, in the American Legion Post, at the annual township or school district meeting, wherever workers and toiling farmers are to be found. As rapidly as possible, fractions or groups of farmers and workers sympathetic to our program should be formed within each of these organizations to work under the guidance of the Party unit.

As a number of workers from a single local industry are recruited into the Party, it is best to transfer them to a town unit or shop nucleus. In some instances—and, of course, this is raised only as a proposal for discussion—it might be desirable, if a number of farm laborers are recruited from within a workable radius, to form them into a separate unit. But we must guard against the danger of falling back into the present narrow unit life which takes up only problems of one group (or craft) to the exclusion of the broader tasks of the Party. Some of the specific tasks of these units would be to defend the economic interests of the wage-workers, help them to build their own class organizations, and lead the strike struggles of the proletariat. These tasks are no less the responsibility of the revolutionary farmers organized in the Party, and the work of the farm, village and town units and nuclei must be intimately linked up through joint bureau meetings and representation on the Section and District committees. This strengthening of the proletarian base of the Party *in the agrarian communities* is one of the best guarantees that our work among farmers will be correctly guided. Here in day-to-day activity will be worked out the concrete methods of farmer support for proletarian struggles, and aid and leadership by town workers for mass struggles of the exploited farmers. And here we can begin to form on a local scale detachments of "that broad political army in which the proletariat is the leading class".

IMPROVEMENT IN THE FUNCTIONING OF UNITS

4. Without improving the inner life of our Party in the countryside, we cannot hope to revolutionize our work there. Long, dull unit meetings concerned only with questions of dues, collections, resolutions, and correspondence, will not hold the younger farmers, workers, and women. Exclusive discussion of farmers' problems and U. F. L. work will not draw the farm and town workers into the Party. Activity of only one or two comrades in the unit will not build a mass base for Party or develop responsibility of other Party members.

Technical business of unit meetings can be kept to a minimum, so that there is time at each meeting for a carefully prepared political discussion or study circle. District directives to these units have to

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be especially simplified and adapted to local conditions, so that new units are not burdened with every Party task indiscriminately, but learn step by step how to link up each campaign with the mass work in the community.

Each member of the unit should be drawn into Party work, given tasks that are within his or her capacity to perform, and helped by older comrades to carry them out. Check-up or control over each task must be made by the unit. Excessive burdens of Party work on a few comrades must be lightened.

Agrarian units usually function better if they are large (12 to 15, rather than 6 to 8 members), provided the location of meetings is shifted about so that comrades in outlying townships do not always have to do all the traveling, and provided every member is activized. The organizational orientation of the rural units, however, is more important than size. Members must live sufficiently close together so that work can be carried on among all strata of toilers in a certain territory or township. Better a small unit that is representative of the village proletariat, farm workers, and poor farmers in one township, than a large unit composed only of farmers from half the county. Use of the term "farm unit" may often be misleading, implying only farmer composition; in places where there is no small town nearby, units might well be called by the name of the township.

Organizational approach to agrarian units must be flexible. For instance, too many inner organizational meetings cannot be demanded. Where unit bureaus do not function because of scattered membership, a joint bureau of three or four units in the same territory or county can be formed to meet every month or six weeks, with a leading comrade from the Section present to help in preparing unit business for the next two or three meetings. In large Sections which are chiefly agrarian, it may be necessary to elect on the Section Committee, or even Bureau if possible, double representation from each group of units or from each joint unit bureau in a particular territory, in order that at least one representative will be able to attend each meeting. Thus the same comrade will not have all the burden of travel. Such meetings should be used to lead the farmer members to an understanding of the class base of the Party, to draw them into revolutionary activity among the rural proletariat, and not to discuss only "farmer" problems. Special meetings of the Section Bureau with the actives from village and country units can be held to discuss methods of improving unit life or to examine the work of the fractions.

IMPROVING OUR MASS WORK

By assigning every possible Party member to active work within

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some old-line organization which includes in its membership a basis of poor, small, or ruined middle farmers, we can begin to engage these local organizations in a mass movement under our leadership. Party members must become agitators for class issues and demands within the local and county organizations of the National Holiday, Farmers' Union, Grange, cooperatives, etc., drawing the small and middle farmers into activity over the heads of or against the opposition of the rich farmers and political agents of capital who today play a leading role in many of the county organizations and in the State apparatus of these organizations.

Without ceasing our work of building Left-wing mass organizations of poor farmers and of carrying resolutely into life their revolutionary program of work, we should at the same time recognize the following: that one clear class demand put forward *within the ranks* of an old-line organization, around which we can mobilize a group of poor and middle farmers *in action*, may be more powerful in breaking the capitalist hold on the countryside, in attacking the exploiters, in drawing class lines and winning masses under revolutionary leadership, than a complete set of revolutionary demands endorsed by a small local of the U.F.L. composed mainly of radicalized farmers and Party sympathizers.

We must take care not to jump from isolation into liquidation of the U.F.L. Parallel to the work carried on by comrades within the old-line organizations, the U.F.L. local should approach the old-line locals for joint action on a united front basis. In some cases this activity will result in increasing the membership of the U.F.L. from among the unorganized farmers who are usually the poorer and semi-proletarian farmers, and in strengthening the influence of the U.F.L. in the community and among the farmers in other organizations. In other cases, where the U.F.L. local is small and hopelessly isolated from the mass of farmers, and where locals of old-line organizations are predominant, it may mean the dissolution of the U.F.L. and the concentration of all militant farmers on work within the reformist organizations. In cases where the U.F.L. has not yet been formed, the comrades should examine carefully the requirements and possibilities for work in existing local organizations, the level of class consciousness of local farmers which will determine the mass base a U.F.L. may hope to establish there, before taking permanent organizational steps. The Committee of Action form of organization for loose, flexible and temporary mobilization and education of masses of farmers in struggles, should be used more effectively.

In general, our comrades working in the countryside should cease to regard themselves solely as U.F.L. organizers, but begin

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to understand and experiment boldly with various informal methods of rallying broad masses of farmers around a program or a single local demand which calls for class action. Such a development demands clarification of the political perspectives and immediate tactics of our work in the countryside, the strengthening of Party responsibility for agrarian work, the rapid recruitment of class-conscious farmers and rural proletariat into the Party, and the creation of correctly functioning fractions to guide the work in the mass organizations (reformist and Left-wing). At the same time there should be regular political reports established between the comrades active in the field and the Agrarian Commission which is responsible to the Party leadership, in order to determine the correct tactics in the light of a thorough political analysis of varying local conditions.

CONCLUSION

Only on the basis of a correctly executed united front tactic can we today win the masses of rural toilers to the struggle against capitalism. We must broaden our perspective in the rural areas, to include work in reformist mass organizations. The number of farmers and farm workers who follow our program in action will be the measure of our influence in the countryside, and not only the number of membership books issued by the U.F.L. or even the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union. In every village, in every township throughout the country, in the locals of the Holiday, the Farmers' Union, among the Farmer-Labor, Progressive, Democratic, Republican, and Socialist voters, even among members of the fascist-led groups in the country, among the millions of rural dwellers, are to be found the poor farmers and workers who belong under our leadership. To win these elements requires patient, day-to-day activity of our Party members and revolutionary farmers along correct political lines, in order to overcome their reformist and bourgeois-democratic ideology, and to build up a broad mass base for the Party among the toilers of the countryside.

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Achievements and Tasks of the New York District

(*Organizational Report Submitted to the New York Party District Conference, February* 23-24, 1935)

By MAX STEINBERG

IN dealing with some organizational problems and tasks of our Party, I will speak mainly of the period since the last District Convention.

I want to state at the very outset that since the last District Convention, our Party in the New York District has developed both organizationaly and ideologically. We have learned to employ better methods of work. We have been more alert to the problems and issues of the workers in our District, and have learned to take advantage of these issues for building and strengthening our Party. The Party as a whole has entrenched itself to a greater extent among the workers in general, and in some of the decisive sections of the workers in particular.

In the course of this past period, however, we have also revealed certain weaknesses. It will be the task of this conference to analyze the work of the Party in a critical way, expose our weaknesses and lay the basis for correcting them.

SHOP NUCLEI

At the time of the last Convention, we had 84 shop nuclei in nine Sections of the Party, with a membership of 525 Party members, operating among 66,000 workers, and issuing 12 shop papers. Today, in 18 of our Sections, we have 183 shop nuclei with a Party membership of 1,286, operating approximately among 127,000 workers, and issuing 60 shop papers regularly. We increased the number of shop nuclei by 99, or 119 per cent.

This certainly is an achievement. Let us, however, examine our shop nuclei in the light of our concentration tasks and see to what extent we have improved our shop work and built our nuclei in the basic industries, among the decisive sections of the New York work-

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ers. Let us determine to what extent the Party nuclei in the factories as a whole have been active as Communist Party organizations, bringing in all the issues of the class struggle from a Communist point of view. Let us determine to what extent our shop nuclei have revolutionized the workers in connection with their most immediate problems and grievances, and to what extent the nuclei were involved in helping to solve the problems of the workers.

At the last District Convention we had eight shop nuclei in concentration industries, operating among some 7,500 workers. Today, we have 20 shop nuclei in basic industries, working among 32,700 workers.

While registering an increase in shop nuclei in the basic industries, still, as compared to the possibilities and to the general increase in Party membership, these figures stil remain inadequate.

The main question is: how do these nuclei act as Party organizations in connection with the various problems of the working masses in the shops? Let us examine the work of the X shop nucleus in the Harlem Section. There, you will find that the comrades understood how to deal with the workers' economic issues; they understood how best to approach these workers, how to develop the proper agitation around the issues that were raised with the result that the comrades were successful in penetrating and discrediting the company union completely, and in building the X union, with a membership of 550 in that particular shop.

When we note the headway made in the X industry generally, where we succeeded in building a union of over 2,000 members, which at present stands out as the only recognized union in the industry, we can say that in this achievement of our Party, the nucleus played a big part, not only in building the union in this shop, but also in achieving a wide, indirect influence throughout the X industry.

There we can see a Party nucleus, which, to a great extent, understood its role in the factory. The weakness of that unit, however, is manifested in its slow growth. The unit and Section Committee will have to examine further the methods of work in that nucleus.

Let us examine the railroad nucleus in the X yards. There the comrades carefuly studied and acquainted themselves with all the grievances and issues of the workers in the yard, and as a result of properly reacting to those issues, recruited into the Party a number of railroad workers, making it the biggest and most effective Party nucleus throughout the country in the railroad industry. In the X yards the comrades recruited Negro and white workers, a number of whom are key workers in the industry.

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One of the most effective means used in the yard was the *Daily Worker*, by which the comrades succeeded in extending the influence of the Party throughout the yard.

Another example of a Party nucleus which understood its role is a nucleus in Section 7. In the course of a strike which it led, this nucleus was able to stand out among the workers as the leader and fighter for their economic demands, and as a result it grew from 12 to 30 members. Here is a concrete example of how the Party was built through struggle led by our unit in the shop.

We also see concrete examples of the role of the Party in building the economic organization of the workers and building the Party at the same time.

The question arises—how was it possible for these shop nuclei to become the leaders of the workers in their respective shops? The answer is that they were able to apply the correct principles of Leninist Party organization, by reacting to the most elementary problems of the workers, by placing themselves in the leadership of the workers in the shops, in the struggle for better conditions, by being part of the workers and keeping in close contact with them, and by their ability to link up the struggles for the improvement of their material conditions with the ultimate aims of the Party and the working class.

On the other hand, we see units that show clearly the weaknesses of our Party in their work. We see a unit in a shop which, when it fails to act as a Communist unit, becomes stagnant and disintegrates. The members become pessimistic, and not only does the unit not grow, but our own comrades find themselves completely isolated from the workers in the shop.

This unit which I speak of is located in an important shoe shop. There the unit has existed for over a year. A year ago it consisted of four comrades. Today the Section is confronted with the problem of dissolving it, for when some of the comrades were laid off, there were no longer sufficient members in the unit to justify its existence. Working in a shop employing hundreds of workers who are members of the A. F. of L., this nucleus failed to organize the workers into a rank-and-file group in opposition to the class collaboration policies and betrayals of the Boot and Shoe union leaders.

Another example of how a Communist unit should not act, is the unit in the Pfeiffer Shoe shop, where, when a strike broke out, our unit not only failed to place itself in the leadership of the struggle, but on the contrary, ceased to function, ceased to hold meetings, and disbanded itself as a Communist Party nucleus.

The above-given examples indicate that where the Party nuclei

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understood their tasks clearly and gave proper leadership, and the necessary attention was paid by the Section Committees to the shop nuclei, the Party became the leader of the workers for their economic demands, and grew organizationally.

Where shop nuclei do not understand their role in the shops, the results are in the main a defeat for the workers in their struggles for economic demands and a hindrance to the Party in its efforts to root itself in the shops.

What a powerful instrument and force our 183 shop nuclei can be, working among 127,000 workers, in promoting economic organizations, in developing rank-and-file movements in the existing unions, as well as in exerting tremendous influence for the Party program generally, if they work properly!

THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO RIGHTS IN THE SHOPS

It is important to emphasize that on the whole our shop nuclei have not sufficiently realized the importance of recruiting Negro workers from the shops. When we consider that the percentage of Negro workers in the shop nuclei is less than 9 per cent, then we must state that more vigilance and alertness to the special problems of the Negro masses in the shops is necessary, and that we must consider it our task to increase the percentage of Negro comrades in the shop nuclei to a minimum of 25 per cent in the very near future.

An example of how at time we fail to fight for the demands of the Negro masses and how we underestimate the importance of recruiting Negro workers into the Party may be brought out in the case of Section 2, where we have 55 shop nuclei working among 35,000 workers, of whom 3,700 are Negro workers, and yet in the entire Section there are only 17 Negro comrades. This certainly is an indication of our failure to bring forth the importance of white workers fighting for the rights of the Negro masses, bringing about the unity of white and Negro workers, with the Party as the leader of these struggles.

Side by side with raising the specific problems of the Negro masses in the shops, we must also try better to understand the problems of the youth, to fight for better conditions of the young workers, to raise their special problems, and thus to help entrench the Y.C.L. in the shops. We have at present possibilities for building a number of Y.C.L. shop nuclei in shops with hundreds of young workers, where strong Party shop nuclei exist. So far, this has been neglected. We must use special efforts to carry out the

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old standing decision of the Party, to build the Y.C.L. shop nuclei in shops alongside of the Party units. This, however, must not be applied mechanically, but rather on the merits of each specific situation.

RECRUITING

Now as to the question of recruiting and membership in our District. The total membership of our shop nuclei in basic industries is 159, as against 51 at the time of the last Convention. This, however, is not the total number of Party members in basic industries in our District. The total number is 978, or about 10 per cent of the total Party membership today. What can we learn from these figures?

1. That, although we have made some progress in this field, this progress is far from satisfactory.

2. That more stress and consistency will have to be applied in the months to come on recruiting from concentration industries.

Our membership in the District today is 9,363, as compared to 5,495 at the time of the last Convention—an increase of 3,868, or 70 per cent. Let us now examine the composition of the new recruits. Of the 3,868, 2,353 are employed; 1,515 are unemployed; 1,557 are native born, and 2,311 foreign born. Out of the total number of recruits, 424 are Negro workers, and 1,072 are women. The number of union members of the total recruits is 1,810, of whom approximately 550 are in the A. F. of L.

Turning to the industries, we show, as compared to the period of the last Convention, an increase in membership of 150 in the marine and longshore industries, 118 in transport, 20 in railroad, 157 in metal, 15 in shoe, 488 in food, 446 in needle, and 210 in building. The total for the most important industries, as compared to the last Convention, shows an increase of 1,604 members. This represents an increase of 120 per cent in marine, 128 per cent in transport, 50 per cent in railroad, and 50 per cent in metal.

WEAKNESSES IN RECRUITING

While this is a high increase in percentage, we must state, after comparing this increase with the percentage of increase in our total membership, that:

1. Recruiting from the concentration industries still reflects a decisive weakness in our concentration work.

2. There is still insufficient work in the A. F. of L.

3. There is still insufficient recruiting from among the un-

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employed, considering the thousands of workers who have participated in the various actions and demonstrations around the issues of the unemployed, led by the Unemployment Councils and our Party.

4. Although we have almost tripled our Negro membership, we note a weakness in recruiting Negro workers in the basic industries.

Out of the total District membership of 9,363, 72 per cent are male, 28 per cent female; 29.5 per cent are native born; 70.5 per cent foreign born, and only 7 per cent are Negroes; 57 per cent are employed, and 43 per cent unemployed.

Of the 5,397 employed, only 451 work in shops employing 500 or more workers and 455 are in shops of from 200 to 500 workers. The balance are in relatively small shops. The percentage of the total membership in unions is 53 per cent, of whom 17 per cent are in the A. F. of L. Ten per cent of the entire membership is in concentration industries; 50 per cent are in light industries, such as needle, food, shoe, etc.; 25 per cent are white-collar and professional workers, and 15 per cent are housewives, unskilled workers, students, etc.

These figures call sharply to the attention of the entire membership in our District the necessity of increasing the percentage of workers in basic industry, which means improving the methods of concentration; the necessity of carrying on more intensive work in the A. F. of L., the importance of recruiting from large shops and factories; and the more conscious recruiting of Negro workers.

Now, insofar as recruiting in the Sections is concerned, basing ourselves on the last three months' period we can cite the following figures: Section 4 (Harlem) is leading, and in the last three months recruited 314 new Party members, of whom 92 are Negro workers. Of the total newly recruited Negro membership, Harlem recruited approximately 75 per cent, while the rest of the District recruited the balance. It is true that Harlem is the center of the Negro masses, but certainly Negro workers are to be found in other parts of our District, and these figures indicate our weaknesses in this field of work, particularly in Section 16 (Crown Heights, Brooklyn), where out of 39 new recruits, only seven are Negro workers. Crown Heights is the next biggest Negro Section in the District.

A serious situation prevails as regards assigning new recruits. In 1934, approximately 6,900 workers made application to the Party, while only 4,220 were actually assigned to units. In other words, 2,680, or 40 per cent of those who applied for membership, never reached the Party. In the last three months, 1,928

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workers made application, of whom only 1,142 have been assigned to Party units; a total of 786 are thus still waiting to be assigned.

These figures indicate that while our Sections are more active today than ever before, and are recruiting on a larger scale than in the past, they are still not sufficiently alert to the importance of consolidating our organizational gains by retaining the maximum number of those signifying their readiness to be in the Party.

To improve this situation it is necessary:

1. That well-functioning membership committees be organized in each Section, composed of qualified comrades who understand Party problems and the importance of consolidating the Party gains, and who approach the question of new recruits as a political problem and not as a mere technical matter.

2. That the Section Organizers consider it their personal task to closely, and as frequently as possible, consult and check up with the membership committees, thus assuring that every new recruit is assigned to a unit within two weeks from the time he makes application.

3. That the comrades who endorse application cards shall be made responsible and shall consider their task as not fulfilled until the worker whom he has endorsed for membership is assigned to a Party unit.

FLUCTUATION

At the last Convention our District had a membership of 5,495. Since then we have recruited 5,741 members, which should have given us a total of 10,236 at the end of December. But in the last registration we registered only 8,221. In other words, we have lost 2,015 or 20 per cent of the total membership, although this is an improvement of 30 per cent as compared with last year, when the fluctuation was almost 50 per cent.

While these figures show an improvement we must take further steps to decrease the fluctuation.

DUES PAYMENTS

A few more words on figures: In the last seven weeks the average dues payments have been 7,485. If we compare this figure to 9,363, the number on our membership rolls, we find a discrepancy of 1,878. The average dues payments, as stated, are even less than the number of members registered in the recent registration—8,221.

Let us look at the Section figures for a moment.

Section 1, which was recently split into Sections 1 and 22, with

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a total membership of 1,333, has average dues payments of 979, a discrepancy of 353, or 26 per cent. Section 4, with a membership of 1,347, has average dues payment of 946, a discrepancy of 401, or 30 per cent. Section 17, with a membership of 431, has average dues payment of 311, a discrepancy of 120, or 28 per cent. Section 5, with a membership of 574, has average dues payment of 427, a discrepancy of 147, or 25 per cent.

These figures indicate again the underestimation in our Party of the importance of dues payments. While I have only cited four Sections, the situation in the other Sections is not very much better. This, if not checked and improved upon immediately, may result in the loss of hundreds of members who have joined recently.

The question, therefore, of good financial secretaries, of a constant check up in the Sections, of approaching the whole problem of dues payments from the point of view of fluctuation and growth of our Party, becomes a political and fundamental problem, and if approached that way, will not only help to stabilize our dues payments, but will considerably reduce the percentage of fluctuation as well.

TRADE UNION PROBLEMS

In reporting for the District Committee, Comrade Wortis has already dealt at length with the work of our Party in the trade unions. At this time I want only to stress the fact that there are 2,987, at at least 32 per cent of our total membership, who are eligible for unions, but who have not joined them. It thus becomes the task of the District to undertake immediately a campaign to bring this force of almost 3,000 comrades into the trade unions.

A word or two on our trade-union fractions. We must state that in spite of our efforts, we have not yet succeeded in developing our fractions to a point where they act as the medium through which the Party conveys its message and program to the thousands of workers among whom the fractions work. Too often the meetings of our fractions assume the character of trade boards or executive boards, taking up issues in a way as to substitute for the meetings of the mass organizations themselves.

Our fractions in the trade unions, with very few exceptions, do not discuss or bring the political campaigns of the Party and the working class to the workers in their organizations. The recruiting for the Party, through the efforts of the trade-union fractions, is extremely negligible. Moreover, the *Daily Worker* is not utilized as an intrument to strengthen the union and further the influence of the Party.

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UNEMPLOYED WORK

In the unemployed movement we can record some progress. At the time of the last Connvention we had 22 locals, with about 650 members, while today we have 62 locals with 6,000 members. The Party was instrumental in developing, although by far not sufficiently enough, a broad movement around the issue of unemployment insurance, in the form of marches and demonstrations to the city and State legislatures, culminating in the Washington Congress, with 700 delegates present representing several hundred thousand workers.

On the other hand, the Party is still not sufficiently involved in the struggles of the unemployed. The Section Committees are still not paying the necessary attention to the building of the Unemployment Councils. They do not provide sufficient forces and leadership. It is our task to build strong Party fractions within the Unemployment Councils, establish closer contact between the Section Committee and the unemployed movement and build a firmer base for our Party among the unemployed than in the past.

Our Section Organizers, and other functionaries, must become the recognized leaders of the masses in their every-day struggles in their respective localities. This can be accomplished if our Section Organizers will not only take a keen interest in the work of the Party fractions among the unemployed, but themselves actively participate and lead the battles around the issues of the employed and unemployed masses. Leadership in the Communist Party is not determined by sending instructions from the office, but rather by one's active participation in the class struggle, through which one becomes recognized by the masses as their leader.

INDEPENDENT LEADERSHIP OF SECTIONS

Since the last Convention we have built nine new Sections, giving us a total of 23 Sections, with the prospect of three new Sections in the immediate future. Today our Sections, more than ever, display more initiative and independent activity. It is sufficient to cite the examples of Sections 6 and 10. Through the initiative of the leadership in Section 6, the comrades were able to build the united front with the Socialist Party and other organizations not under the influence of the Party on the question of the struggle against Negro discrimination and the Saar plebiscite.

It is particularly noteworthy to mention the united front on the issue of Negro discrimination, which our comrades in Section 10

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formed of 85 organizations, including Republican, Democratic and Fusion clubs, Socialist Party branches, American Legion Posts, Elks' branches, and Negro churches and lodges, most of which had never before participated in any form of activity in the labor movement.

In the course of the united-front activities in Sections 6 and 10 certain weaknesses were manifested, such as:

1. Insufficient drawing in of the members in the various actions initiated by the Committee for Equal Opportunities in Section 10.
2. In spite of the broad representation, insufficient white organizations, particularly A. F. of L. locals, were involved in the struggle for Negro rights.
3. Insufficient support of the struggles of the united-front group from other parts of the city.
4. Insufficient independent activity of the Communist Party.
5. The failure of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights to come forward more boldly as an independent organization within the united front.

It must also be stated that the comrades in Section 10 must take the necessary steps to eliminate the serious danger that the present broad united front in Queens in behalf of the Negro doctors will narrow down to the Party and its close sympathetic organizations.

On the whole, however, the comrades in Sections 6 and 10 have displayed a good Party, political understanding of the united front, and their policies were in the main correct and were approved by the District.

We may also mention the example of Sections 2 and 7, which, upon their own initiative, undertook concentration in such an important industry as power. Although in the original control tasks of the District, power was not marked as a concentration industry, we can record today shop nuclei and economic organizations built as a result of the initiative of Sections 2 and 7.

CADRES

Since the last Convention, we have made attempts to bring to the forefront new proletarian elements, particularly Negro proletarians, in the leadership of our Party. In this connection we can point to our Harlem Section, where we have 18 Negro comrades as unit organizers, where we developed a number of Negro comrades as mass leaders of the workers in their territories. The Harlem Section has also supplied the District with leadership in the form of a core of Negro comrades for our District Committee and District

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Bureau, as well as in mass organizations on a District scale. We have also succeeded, although not to a great extent, in developing other proletarian comrades in the leadership of the other Sections.

In the main, however, the District and Sections must pay even more attention than in the past to this important task of developing new proletarian forces in the leadership of our Party. This is particularly important now in view of the sharpening class struggle and the attacks against the Party. This does not imply that the other elements in our Party are not useful, or are to be eliminated or discarded. However, it is clear that as the Party of the working class, particularly on the eve of gigantic class battles, the best guarantee that our Party will be able to react to issues and lead the workers in the struggle, is to root the Party in the shops and factories, and proletarianize its leadership in the units and Sections and in the mass organizations.

STREET UNITS

We have already dealt with examples of shop nuclei. We can also see how our street nuclei were able to bring about improved results for the Party in the neighborhoods, in trade unions and in shop work.

A good example of the improved work of the street units is Unit 18, Section 15. One of the good features of this unit is the activization of every member in the unit in a trade union. The unit has improved its inner life; it opens its meetings promptly at 8:15 and adjourns at 10:45 at the very latest. Political discussions in the unit are a weekly occurrence. The discussions are planned in advance by the unit bureau, literature being prepared dealing with the topic of discussion for the next meeting. Because of the improved inner life and correct orientation, the average attendance is 80 per cent; fluctuation has been completely checked, and in the last two months the unit has recruited 19 new members.

Another example is Unit 2, Section 22. Because it consistently controls the activities of the comrades and has established the captain system and improved the inner life of the unit, the unit was able to recruit 40 workers into the Party, and three into the Y.C.L., in a period of four months. The composition of that unit is 80 per cent shop workers, with about 50 per cent of the entire unit membership in trade unions, of whom 25 per cent are in the A. F. of L. The unit was instrumental in building mass organizations in its territory. It issues a monthly bulletin dealing with the immediate problems of the workers in their territory. As a result of

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the good work of that unit, the workers in the territory look up to the Party as their leader in the struggle for their demands.

SHOP NUCLEI BUILT BY STREET UNITS' ACTIVITIES

An encouraging feature is the fact that we can point to a number of shop nuclei in our District which were built as a result of concentration by street units. Thus we can see that we have an improvement in this field, where our comrades in the street units, as well as in the leadership in the Sections, recognize the political significance of the shop nucleus as the basic unit of our Party, and have employed all efforts in building shop nuclei. We must strive more and more to shift the membership in the street nuclei into shop units and activize them in the factories wherever possible.

It is important that we also take note of some lingering bad methods of work in some of our street units. An example may be cited of a street unit in one of our Sections. This unit was given the task of concentrating on an important metal shop. Because of the laxness of our comrades, and their failure to consistently follow up its concentration, after six months of work the unit not only failed to build a Party unit in the shop, but did not make a single contact among the workers. In the course of a strike of the workers in the above mentioned factory, the street unit in question confined its activities to occasional sales and distribution of the *Daily Worker*. The meetings of this unit begin late, and the work is not planned, with the result that there is a great amount of fluctuation in the unit and the recruiting is on an extremely low ebb.

On the whole, however, we can state that the life of our street units has improved and where our units display independent initiative they become the leaders of the workers in their respective territories, participate and lead in the struggles of the workers, and as a result build the Party and the mass organizations.

UNIT LEADERSHIP

The examples cited emphasize the importance of building strong leadership in the units, particularly in the shop nuclei, strong political unit bureaus out of the best proletarian elements, and the immediate necessity of establishing the captain system throughout our District.

YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

The Y.C.L. in our District has grown from 1,000 to 3,000,

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was successful in increasing its number of shop nuclei, and established united-front movements, particularly in the American Youth Congress.

In the achievements of the Y.C.L., the Party helped considerably. We can state that because of the good leadership of the Y.C.L. in the New York District, and its improved quality of work, the Y.C.L. is on the road to becoming a real mass league.

Our task at this conference is to continue even more than in the past, to assist the comrades in the Y.C.L. in their every-day activities. We must undertake at this conference to set an example to the Party in the rest of the country, as well as to some of our broher Parties in our International, to help the Y.C.L. become a larger organization than the Party itself. This can be accomplished if all of us undertake very earnestly to mobilize the Party to help the comrades in their daily work, carry out the decision of assigning forces to work among the youth, and arouse the whole Party to the necessity of building a mass Y.C.L., enabling it to lead the struggles of the young workers and students.

FINANCES

A word should be said on finances. We succeeded in stabilizing the finances in the District, working on a budget at present, providing the necessary funds for agitational and propaganda material, such as leaflets, pamphlets, schools, etc. We have not yet fully succeeded in stabilizing the finances in the Sections and in the units, as well as in some of our mass organizations, with the result that very often comrades, when they are confronted with certain struggles, run to the District, and when the District is in no position to help them, these comrades do not perform their Communist duty, and allow their agitation and propaganda work to diminish.

We proposed the building up of a Red Fighting Fund in the Sections and in the units, which, if properly carried out, would help our Party to improve its agitation and propaganda, make it possible for the units and fractions to issue leaflets, as well as to arrange a greater number of meetings than at present.

DAILY WORKER

It is important to deal with another highly important task, namely, the building of the *Daily Worker*. Here we can state that the circulation of the *Daily Worker*, through the channels of the Party Sections, Red Builders, newsstands and unions, is negligible.

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During the month of January, 1935, the circulation of the *Daily* decreased as compared to last year.

The basic cause for such a situation is the lack of organization, the proper distribution agencies in the Party, the insufficient appreciation within the Party of the importance of the *Daily Worker*, and the complete underestimation of our central organ on the part of our comrades in the trade unions.

To improve the situation it is necessary that the Section Committees assign some of the best forces for the building of the *Daily Worker*, that the building of the *Daily Worker* shall not be the function of an individual, or a small committee, but of the Section Committee as a whole; that a consistent check up on the building of the *Daily Worker* be carried on by the Sections; that the fractions in the trade unions and mass organizations elect special committees to be in charge of the sales of the *Daily Worker* and that the *Daily Worker* be placed on the order of business of every meeting of the fraction in the trade union; that special attempts be made to increase the number of Red Builders, particularly in industrial sections, busy corners, front of shops, etc.

A special committee of the Political Bureau of our Party, of which Comrade Browder and Krumbein are members, gave us the task of increasing the circulation of the *Daily Worker* in our District to 30,000 by May 1, and 60,000 by August 1. This may appear to be an exaggerated figure now. However, if the present attitude towards the *Daily Worker* is changed, and the comrades in the Party and mass organizations use more vigor and determination to build the *Daily Worker*, we shall be able to comply with the decisions of the Central Committee.

CO-ORDINATION OF CAMPAIGNS

It is important to deal briefly with another phase of our activity which must be improved. This question requires much more time than I can give at present. However, I want to mention it.

I have in mind the co-ordination and the ability to link up one campaign with another as part and parcel of the general class struggle in the United States. At times we find ourselves lost because of the numerous campaigns. The trouble is not too many campaigns, but rather the point to emphasize is the necessity of our Party bringing our campaigns and their respective slogans to the workers in such a simplified form that the workers will see in the slogans of the Party, if realized, an improvement of their own conditions, and thereby be willing to fight with the Party for the

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realization of those slogans. This will be accomplished if our Sections and fractions find the method of connecting these campaigns with the immediate and partial issues of the workers.

Another point which requires consideration is the tendency on the part of many of our fractions within the mass organizations to lean and depend on the District apparatus and the units to make their given campaigns a success. The comrades see the possibility for mobilizing for action only when they get the Party membership together, but tend to take a defeatist attiude when they are confronted with the task of mobilizing the masses themselves. It is understood that the Party must be in the forefront of all the campaigns and struggles of the workers. At the same time, our fractions in the mass organizations must learn to bring their campaigns to the masses of workers in such a form as to enable the comrades to mobilize sections of workers in support of the given campaigns.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, comrades, we can see that our Party has recently made decisive gains. These achievements are the result of the efforts of the entire Party—the District and Sections as well as the mass organizations. Comrade Krumbein, our District Organizer, played a leading role in this.

These achievements were realized because of our efforts to carry out the directives of the Open Letter. We were also ably assisted by the Central Committee of our Party.

At the same time we must guard ourselves against the tendencies of self-satisfaction. Our achievements are not too great if compared to the objective possibilities and requirements of the moment. Therefore, let us at this conference resolve that on the basis of our experience and the lessons learned, with the resolutions of the Central Committee before us, to move forward to greater battles and greater achievements for our Party, thereby advancing in the most concrete manner the slogan of Soviet Power.

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Unmasking the New Deal in the Cotton Patch

By DONALD MacDOUGAL

THREE-QUARTERS of a century have elapsed since chattel slavery was abolished. Yet cotton is still a slave crop. The same old cotton rows cross the land that was once a slave plantation. Today cotton is planted, chopped and picked by white as well as Negro serfs, bending their backs under the whip of debt. Every year cotton families in ten Southern states give six billion hours of labor to clothe the world—millions, living in rags.

Commenting on the economic slavery of the Southern sharecropper and tenant, Lenin said:

> "Having 'freed' the Negroes, they took good care, on the basis of 'free' and Republican-Democratic capitalism, to re-establish everything possible and to do all in their power for the most shameless and despicable oppression of the Negroes . . . these are not even tenants, from the point of view of cultured modern European capitalism. We are dealing here mainly with semi-feudal relationships, or, what is the same thing from the economic point of view, with the semi-slavery system of sharecropping."

The old contradictions between the industrial North and the feudal South, which flared into civil war in 1861 and ended in the crumbling of the Southern aristocracy, still revolve around the production, distribution, manufacture and sale of cotton. Today these capitalist contradictions are greatly intensified.

Japan threatens to stop buying $100,000,000 worth of cotton yearly from American cotton exporters if American manufacturers of cotton goods continue their attempts to secure an embargo to exclude Japanese cotton goods from the United States and Latin-America.

Governors of several New England States, representing the textile bosses, in addition to asking the federal government for an embargo against Japanese cotton goods are also combining to end A.A.A. processing taxes on cotton. Although processing taxes are passed on to the consumer, the manufacturers of cotton goods

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object to the A.A.A. limiting cotton production, which tends to raise the price of their raw product. Cotton manufacturers prefer plenty of cheap raw cotton and the chance to control prices on their cotton goods. This search for cheap raw products is given concrete form by the recent announcement that Johnson & Johnson, one of the largest manufacturers of surgical dressings in America, is building a plant in Brazil. This is a modern development of the traditional struggle between the Southern cotton growers and the Northern manufacturers of cotton goods.

American cotton exporters attempt to play the embargo game, to prevent the Federal Import-Export Bank from financing the export of American cotton gin machinery to Brazil.

Brazil threatens the dominance of the United States as a producer of cotton. It has increased its production from 448,000 bales in 1932 to 1,591,000 bales this year. A 300 per cent increase in three years. Keeping pace with this increase in Brazilian cotton, American manufacturers of ginning machinery sold $382,000 worth of machinery in January and February alone to Brazil. Obviously, these American machinery manufacturers will fight their brother cotton capitalists who fear the development of a South American rival for the world cotton trade.

Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1792 made cotton a world crop. Since then Republican and Democratic administrations, one after the other, have supported the Southern planters in enslaving their cotton hands. As the world crisis widened the gap between cotton prices and costs, the Republican Hoover threw the weight of his administration behind the Southern gentry. He began the "brain trust" pattern with the formation of the Farm Board, and even played with the idea of cotton crop destruction. The federal government placed no restrictions upon Southern plantation bosses, who ruthlessly disregarded their tenant contracts and openly charged 40 to 50 per cent interest on furnishing accounts of their tenants.

The Hoover administration poured $160,000,000 into the laps of these Southern landlords through financing two million bales of Farm Board cotton. It also winked at all attempts on the part of the landlords to squeeze profits from their sharecroppers and tenants through terror and by reducing furnishing to starvation levels. Nevertheless, many of the plantation owners went bankrupt as the crisis deepened. Their croppers were abandoned to hunger in derelict cabins and were soon starved out.

Then came Roosevelt's "New Deal" administration. Its "New Deal" has proved to be only an intensification and extension of all the old deal methods, whether Democratic or Republican, of ex-

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ploiting and degrading the tenants and sharecroppers of the South in the interest of the landlords and capitalists.

Sixty-one per cent of all Southern farmers are tenants. The 1933 cotton benefit contract under the A.A.A., which provided for a plow-under campaign, did not even pretend to protect the interests of tenants and sharecroppers in the crop that was to be plowed under.

Banks and other creditors who had liens on the crop were, of course, very adequately protected. Advice was sent out from Washington to county agents who were engaged in the local administration of the cotton sign-up, that tenants and sharecroppers were not to sign the contract. Landlords only were permitted to sign the contract, and benefit payment checks were subsequently made out directly to the landlords.

Regulations issued by the administration simply provided that the landlord *had an obligation to make any necessary payments* to tenants and sharecroppers out of the benefit payment check. And everywhere, of course, the landlords themselves, as members of local cotton committees, decided that their obligations and payments to tenants and croppers were nil.

Numerous complaints began to penetrate the barriers of terror set up by local landlords' committees. After the tenants began to organize their protest, the government set up a federal "Committee on Cotton Contract Violations".

The complaints received by the committee from tenants and sharecroppers may be summarized as follows:

Under the 1933 plow-up program and the 1934 reduction program the landlord simply pocketed the checks and made no attempt to account to tenants and sharecroppers for their interest. In addition, complaints came in from managing share tenants who were not permitted to sign the benefit contracts on the ground that they were no longer managing tenants, although they should have received half of the benefit payments on the basis of their contracts. Finally, as a result of both the 1933 and 1934 acreage reduction programs, tenants and sharecroppers were being evicted from the plantations in spite of the government's promises to the contrary. In other cases, while not being evicted, the tenants and sharecroppers were being refused furnishing and new crop contracts, but were being offered employment as agricultural day-laborers at a small pittance for a salary.

The record of the Polk plantation in Arkansas as reported to us by a field organizer on the spot proves that the Committee on Cotton Contract Violations was only a blind to cover up the practices of the A.A.A., and was never intended to settle any complaints in the interests of the tenants and sharecroppers.

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In October, 1933, a complaint was sent to Washington from a sharecropper on the plantation of E. H. Polk of Arkansas, stating that croppers were not receiving their share of the benefit payments. The Committee on Violations took no action until the following March. Action was taken then, only because of the flood of complaints and the threat of tenant organizations. The investigators sent to Arkansas reported the following facts to Washington:

1. Polk misrepresented the value of the benefits to 16 of his sharecroppers and bought out their interest in their cotton for a fraction of the value.

2. Although as a member of the local cotton committee he was fully aware of what the government options would be, he gave them a maximum of $11 per acre, and received $17 per acre himself.

3. Polk evicted 16 sharecroppers and their families because they demanded their rights.

4. Polk tried to evade all investigation, and suppressed and faked his bookkeeping. The figures he finally turned over under pressure were not original entries.

These facts were reported to Washington in March, 1934. But it was not until September 18, 1934, that the Committee on Violations recommended the cancellation of Mr. Polk's benefit contract and the payment of 50 per cent of the option payment to the sharecroppers, withholding the rest of the payment from Mr. Polk. In the face of a record of fraudulent and unscrupulous action on the part of a local committee, of which Mr. Polk was a member, and in spite of the fact that the federal Complaints Committee had been in possession of the facts for six months, the administrator of the A.A.A., Mr. Chester C. Davis, in September, 1934, was moved to recommend to the secretary that Polk's benefit payments be held up, but left a loophole for Polk to squeeze through by suggesting the possibility of reversal at a later date if the penalty should seem too severe!

In approving the recommendation, Secretary Wallace had only the following written comment to add:

> "I question whether the tenants should get more than they are entitled to get—as a result of the discovery of the deception."

Although Mr. Polk had done everything to defraud his sharecroppers and the government, we find the administration particularly concerned only that the landlord Polk might suffer too much and that the poverty-ridden sharecroppers who had received nothing might get "more than they are entitled to get". In spite of the

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decision, this case still dragged on. The landlords had their friend Senator Caraway of Arkansas ask the Secretary of Agriculture to take no action, on the ground that Mr. Polk and his lawyer should be given another opportunity to present an explanation.

On January 24, 1935 (a year and three months after the complaint had been received from the sharecropper), the Committee on Violations, having again heard from Mr. Polk, resubmitted its recommendation that he should not receive his payment and that the sharecroppers should receive half of the option payment. To date, after 18 months, *no action has been taken on this recommendation.* This case is typical.

To sum up these colossal frauds of the government upon the majority of Southern farmers, the tenants and sharecroppers, records of the administration disclose that of approximately 1,900 cases on file as involving violations or complaints in connection with the 1933 and 1934 cotton contracts, only 70 were dismissed by February, 1935. Of these 70, only three were in favor of the tenants; and of these three, two had not actually been finally disposed of.

One of the most serious consequences arising out of the cotton reduction program of the administration has been the wholesale evictions of tenants and sharecroppers by the landlords. The restricted production of cotton in the South means that the landlords do not need as many tenants and croppers and further, that tenants and croppers can be exploited with less financial risk on a day-labor basis, rather than having the landlord undertake any obligation of giving them "furnishings". Anticipating the severe criticism which would inevitably arise against the administration because of this cold-blooded program, a provision (Sec. 7) had been inserted in the 1934 contract which purported to take care of the problem. It provides that the landlord shall endeavor:

> ". . . in good faith to bring about the reduction of acreage contemplated in this contract in such a manner as to cause the least possible amount of labor, economic and social disturbance, and to this end, insofar as possible, maintain on this farm the normal number of tenants and other employees; shall permit all tenants to continue in the occupancy of their houses on this farm, rent free, for the years 1934 and 1935, respectively (unless any such tenant shall conduct himself as to become a nuisance or a menace to the welfare of the producer); during such years shall afford such tenants or employees, without cost, access for fuel to such woodlands belonging to this farm as he may designate; shall permit such tenants the use of an adequate portion of the rented acres to grow food and feed crops for home consumption and for pasturage of domestically used livestock; and for such use of the rented acres shall permit the reasonable use of work animals and equipment in exchange for labor."

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The conscious fakery of such "provisions" as the above can be illustrated by a particular case involving evictions which has brought considerable publicity. In this case, concerning the Norcross plantation at Tyronza, Arkansas, Norcross, President of the Fairview Farms Company, had signed a 1934 benefit contract. He started wholesale evictions of his tenants and croppers. Twenty-two of these tenants started suit in local courts to enjoin Norcross from evicting them from their houses and premises occupied by them at the expiration of their rental contracts with him for 1934, on the basis of the above clause in his agreement with the Secretary. A number of these tenants and croppers also wrote complaints to the Secretary of Agriculture in Washington. Having gained no results from either suits or complaints, the tenants and sharecroppers throughout this region began to organize into a union—the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. This threat of organized action by tenants was met by brow-beating attempts on the part of Norcross and the other landlords to break up the tenants' organization.

The situation became so bad and the landlords' open terroristic acts so raw, that the Secretary of Agriculture felt compelled to make some gesture. He sent an investigator to "ascertain the facts". Mrs. Mary Connor Myers, the investigator, came back after making an investigation of the Norcross plantation and filed a report with the Secretary of Agriculture in which she charged wholesale violation of the acreage control provisions supposed to protect tenants from evictions. She reported evicted tenant farmers' families straggling along the highway, wandering hopelessly in search of help and employment. She said even hovels were crowded until there was standing room only, because families in slightly better circumstances had shared their shelter with those evicted. Some landlord planters, Mrs. Myers charged, have turned out their tenants without warning and influenced local relief officials to refuse them aid. She took snapshots of rough-boarded shacks in mucky, miry fields, the gaps in their walls admitting bitter winds; evicted Negroes standing in the road, not knowing where to turn; a truck piled high with bed-springs, a stove and ramshackle ends of the household equipment of a poor family.

Considerable pressure has been brought on the Secretary of Agriculture to have this report released; but in spite of the statements made by Mrs. Myers when she returned from the field, the Secretary announced that this report will not be made public, and gives as a reason that the conditions which have been described by his own investigator are "grossly exaggerated".

In spite of all this, we have the spectacle of Norman Thomas entering the Southern scene and preaching against militant action

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in defense of the rights of tenants and sharecroppers on the ground that the high government officials and decent landlords "would see the tenant through".

On March 29, in the *American Guardian*, Thomas wrote:

> "Some comparatively decent planters assure me . . . I think truly . . . that they aren't making money and can't make it on moderate sized, decently run cotton farms. Let them then help us to abolish the system."

And in *Current History* of April, 1935:

> "Meanwhile, not tomorrow, but today, we are faced by a serious and tragic displacement of workers. In any long run it is obviously impossible to reduce cotton acreage by 40 per cent, as the A.A.A. has planned, and at the same time to keep on the job the number of families now engaged in cotton cultivation. The highest officials in the Department of Agriculture, however, have seen the danger of the displacement of these families and have tried to do something for them, not anything like as much as they have done for the plantation owners, but something."

Terror stalks the members of the Tenants' Union in Arkansas: W. H. Stultz, President of the Union, was recently warned by a band of vigilantes to get out of the country in 24 hours; Negroes have been beaten almost to death; armed planters and hoodlums break up meetings of the Union, and shoot into the houses of Union members. This is the backdrop of terror in the South and although personally familiar with it, Thomas tells tenants that "the highest officials in the Department of Agriculture, however, have seen the danger of the displacement of these families, and have tried to do something for them".

Does Thomas mean Oscar Johnson, manager of the 45,000-acre Delta and Pinelands plantation in Mississippi, who was called to Washington by Secretary Wallace to play the market in the cotton pool in the interest of the big landlords?—who held options on Farm Board cotton and who is now sent to Europe by Roosevelt to try to get foreign producers to agree to reduce their cotton production?

Or does Thomas mean Mr. C. A. Cobb, Chief of the Cotton Section, who recently appeared before a Congressional Agricultural Committee which was discussing a bill to exempt up to two bales of tax-free cotton in favor of and as a protection to the small farmers? Mr. Cobb urged that the exemption be made to the landlord's farm, and not the cropper or renter. Before Congress could pass this amendment to the Bankhead Control Act, the Secre-

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tary of Agriculture himself issued a ruling making an exemption up to two bales of cotton in favor of the farm of the landlord, and not in favor of the renter.

Perhaps Mr. Thomas means Mr. Chester A. Davis, A.A.A. Administrator, who started a "purge" merely because of a legal ruling which protected sharecroppers and tenants?

These are the men "high-up" in the cotton administration of the A.A.A.

By misleading tenants and sharecroppers with the pious illusion that such out and out lackeys of capitalism will do something for them, Thomas joins with these servants of the landlords and helps them to "sell the croppers and tenants down the river".

A summary of Norman Thomas' program for action, taken from his own statements, would read:

1. Call upon "decent planters" to help abolish the system.
2. Depend upon the government agents of capitalism to reform and "do something for the sharecroppers".
3. By "wise and restrained tactics", get public opinion" to compel the federarl government to reverse its class character and function for the dispossessed.

How long will the embattled tenants and sharecroppers follow such advice?

A lynch mob will not wait upon "wise and restrained" objections. It took the militant and organized action of the Alabama sharecroppers' Union to hold the mobs at bay and teach them respect for Negro life and property.

At an ever-increasing tempo the Roosevelt Administration has achieved a degree of enslavement of Negro and white tenants never approached before by any of its Republican or Democratic predecessors.

Roosevelt employs the most skillful demagoguery in hiding the capitalist class interest of his administration. The most vicious example of this method of waving a whip and calling it a magic wand of recovery, is exemplified by the new Bankhead bill to change tenants, sharecroppers and laborers into small owners on subsistence plots. To understand the calculated hypocrisy of this maneuver, which is mobilizing a broad liberal backing, one must review the contradictions of forces within the Cotton Kingdom.

In Texas and Oklahoma, sharecropping is not the traditional method of labor exploitation. The drier climate and more level topography provide better conditions for extensive machine methods in cotton culture. These States, while not escaping tenantry, depend largely upon hired labor in picking and chopping seasons. Mexican workers from across the border are especially utilized to

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avoid the financial risks of "furnishing", which is inherent in the sharecropping system of the old South. Low prices have virtually stopped the advance in production technique and the cotton growers have tried to fill the gap between cost and price by still further reducing wages of the hired agricultural laborers.

In the old South the competition of more modern lower-cost methods of cotton production to the Southwest has been keenly felt. Fertilizers, terracing and more intensive cultivation were not enough to give sufficient income to stave off the demands of the banks and insurance companies for interest. To make ends meet, the old South began a ruthless drive to force its sharecropper serfs to starvation levels so as to increase income for the "boss man". The transfer of furnishing from the plantation to the federal government was another desperate effort to uphold the sharecropper serfdom. By hook and crook, landlords used federal feed and seed loans as sources for furnishing, which they forced their tenants to borrow and pay for out of their share of the crop. When this source dried up, Red Cross and Federal Relief were substituted. Even these have been stopped.

Because it has become more difficult to feed and clothe their serfs out of plantation income and still show profits, the landlords are out to get a labor supply supported by the government and tied to the land.

Out of this drive to change from sharecropping serfdom to out-and-out peonage, grew the Bankhead bill.

It is a bill to create a "Farm Tenant Homes Corporation"—and for "other purposes". A great liberal ballyhoo is being raised behind it. Liberals "see", at last, the "liberation of the Negro and white sharecroppers from their traditional serfdom".

With truly gifted demagogy Wallace said in testifying before the Senate Committee on Agriculture:

> "Since the depression the displacement of Southern tenants and the increase in the number of rural 'squatters' has been sharply increased. . . .
>
> "The present conditions, particularly in the South, provide fertile soil for Communist and Socialist agitators. I do not like the bitterness that is aroused by this sort of agitation, but I realize that the cure is not violence or oppressive legislation to curb these activities but rather to give these dispossessed people a stake in the social system."

Mr. Bankhead himself in a radio speech which was read into the *Congressional Record* of Februray 19, comes out frankly as to what the "other purposes" of the bill are. He said:

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> "As most of you farm folks know, there is a lot of farm land that is owned by banks, insurance companies, and what are called 'absentee landlords'. Most of this land is worked by tenants, and many of these landlords and owners are anxious to dispose of this land because it is out of their line of business. In many instances it was acquired since boom times through foreclosure."

Thus Bankhead with his new bill proposes to bale out the banks and insurance companies stuck with unprofitable holdings.

The government, of course, guarantees the billion dollars' worth of bonds with interest and it expects to collect it from the "worthy" tenants who work it out. This means that a large labor supply is shackled to the South, without expense to the Southern exploiters of labor. This is actually potential peonage on a grand scale, for these poverty-stricken wards of the government must work whenever itinerant employment offers, whether it be to scab in a nearby town or to be put on a picking job on some local plantation.

One feature of this bill that is particularly important: no provision is made in the bill to protect Negroes, who will, consequently, become the chief victims of the measure.

The Southern Sharecroppers' Union and the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, organized in different states, have both white and Negro members. A united front of these organizations which have already joined in common struggle, should be extended for struggle throughout the South. A conference for this purpose should be held immediately to lay the basis for this extended united front.

The Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill, H.R. 3471, which has become the basic program of the united front of Mid-West farmers in their fight for drought relief in Congress, applies with equal force in solving the immediate needs of sharecroppers and tenants and small debt-ridden owners of the South.

H.R. 3471 is a genuine farmers' bill. It is a weapon in the struggle against the demagogic attempts of bankers and landlords to win for themselves a mass base among the toiling farmers. It provides a weapon against the development of fascism which the Roosevelt administration is rapidly preparing. It provides specifically that "no discrimination shall be made in the administration of this act because of the age, sex, race, color, religious or political opinion or affiliation or nationality of any farmer". It defines a farmer as "any individual who is engaged in tilling the soil or raising livestock, whether a tenant, sharecropper or owner who operates the farm primarily by his own labor". The bill further covers the following immediate needs of farmers:

1. Cancellation of all debts which threaten the farmer in the possession of his land, home or equipment.

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2. Long term crop production loans without interest.

3. Long term farm, home, equipment and livestock loans to replace losses which farmers have suffered since 1921.

4. Cash relief to all farmers in need, to be determined and controlled by committees of farmers elected by the farmers themselves.

The tenants and the sharecroppers will not take long in choosing between the Bankhead Bill proposed by the government of the bankers and landlords, and their own bill—the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill (H.R. 3471).

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Comintern Documents on the United Front

FROM THE RESOLUTION ON THE UNITED FRONT TACTICS

(Adopted at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, November 7-December 3 1922)

THE UNITED FRONT TACTICS

THE slogan of the Third Congress, "To the Masses!" is now more important than ever. The struggle for the United Front is only beginning, and it will no doubt occupy a whole period in the international labor movement. The best illustration is furnished by France, where the march of events has convinced even those who but recently were the principal opponents of these tactics to become now its ardent adherents. The Communist International calls upon all Communist Parties and groups to carry out to the full the tactics of the United Front, which are the only means of winning over the majority of the workers to the Communist side.

The reformists are now looking for a split. The Communists are interested in bringing about the closest union of all the forces of the working class against capitalism.

The tactics of the United Front imply the leadership of the Communist vanguard in the daily struggles of the large masses of the workers for their vital interests. In these struggles the Communists are even ready to parley with the treacherous leaders of the Social-Democrats and of Amsterdam. It is obviously our duty to make the most unequivocal denial of the allegations made by the Second International misrepresenting the United Front as the organizational amalgamation of all the "labor parties". The attempts of the Second International to win over the more advanced labor organizations under the cloak of the United Front (amalgamation of the Social-Democrats and independents in Germany), are in reality nothing but an opportunity for the Social-Democratic leaders to deliver some other parts of the working masses into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The existence of independent Communist Parties and their complete freedom of propaganda against the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social-Democracy is the most important historical conquest of the proletariat, and one which the Communists should not give up under any circumstances. The Communist Parties are the only fighters for the interests of the proletariat as a whole.

The tactics of the United Front should by no means imply the forming of "electoral combinations" of leaders for the pursuit of certain parliamentary aims. The tactic of the United Front is the call for the united struggle of Communists and of all other workers, either belonging to other parties and groups, or belonging to no party whatever, for the defense of the elementary and vital interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Every struggle, even for the most trifling everyday demand, is a source of revolutionary education and revolutionary training; for the experiences of the struggle will convice the workers of the inevitability of revolution and of the importance of Communism.

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A specially important task in carrying out the United Front is to achieve not only agitational but also organizational results. No opportunity should be omitted of creating organizational points of support within the working masses themselves (industrial councils, controlling committees composed of workers of all parties, or belonging to no party, committees of action, etc.).

The most important thing in the tactics of the United Front is and remains the agitational and organizational unification of the working masses. The real success of the United Front tactics is to come from "below", from the depth of the working masses themselves. At the same time, the Communists should not decline, under given circumstances, to negotiate with the leaders of the workers' parties in opposition to us. But the masses must be constantly and completely kept informed of the course of these negotiations. Even during such negotiations the Communist Party should not in any way circumscribe the independence of its agitatiton.

It stands to reason that the tactics of the United Front should be applied in the different countries in various forms, in accordance with actual circumstances. But in the most important capitalist countries, where the objective circumstances are ripe for the social revolution, and where the Social-Democratic parties—led by counter-revolutionary leaders are deliberately working for the splitting of the workers' ranks, the tactics of the United Front may be the starting-point for a new phase of the movement.

MANIFESTO ISSUED BY THE E.C.C.I. PROPOSING TO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTIES TO JOIN IN A UNITED FRONT AGAINST HUNGER AND THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

March 18, 1933

TO the workers of all countries:

The crisis continues. Unemployment is increasing without interruption. Hunger and misery are seizing ever-fresh sections of the workers. The capitalist offensive is assuming ever-sharper forms. The bourgeoisie are preparing to launch a campaign against all the political and economic achievements of the working class. Fascist reaction is seizing one country after another.

The establishment of the open fascist dictatorship in Germany has inexorably confronted millions of workers of all countries with the question of the imperative need for organizing the united front of struggle against the fascist offensive of the bourgeoisie, and above all, against the German bourgeoisie who, step by step, are robbing the working class of all economic and political achievements and attempting to crush the workers' movement with the most brutal method of terror.

The main obstacle to the formation of the united front of struggle of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers was and is the policy conducted by the Social-Democratic Parties, who have exposed the international proletariat to the blows of the class enemy.

This policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, known as the so-called policy of the "lesser evil", has led, in practice, to the triumph of fascist reaction in Germany.

The Communist Internatitonal and the Communist Parties of all countries have repeatedly declared their readiness to join in a common fight along with the Social-Democratic workers against the capitalist offensive, against political reaction and civil war. The Communist Parties were the organizers

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of the common fight of the Communist, Social-Democratic and non-party workers, in spite of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties, who systematically disrupted the united front of the working masses.

On July 20 last year, the Communist Party of Germany, after the Prussian Social-Democratic Government had been driven out by Papen, proposed to the Social-Democratic Party and the German General Federation of Trade Unions the organization of a common strike against fascism. But the Social-Democratic Party and the A.D.G.B., with the approval of the whole of the Second International, described the proposal to organize a common strike as a provocation.

The Communist Party of Germany repeated its proposal of common action at the moment when Hitler seized power, it called upon the central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party and the Executive Committee of the German General Federattion of Trade Unions to organize the resistance to fascism, but again met with a refusal.

Nay, more, when in November last year the Berlin traffic workers unanimously went on strike against a wage reduction, the Social-Democratic Party sabotaged the united front struggle. The whole practice of the International Labor Movement is full of similar examples.

The Bureau of the Labor and Socialist International published on February 19 last, a declaration on the readiness of the Social-Democratic Parties affiliated to this International to form a united front with the Communists in order to fight against the fascist reaction in Germany. This declaration stands in sharp contradiction to the whole of the previous actions of the L.S.I. and Social-Democratic Parties.

The whole policy and activity of the L.S.I., hitherto, justifies the Communist International and the Communist Parties putting no faith in the sincerity of the declaration of the Bureau of the L.S.I. which makes its proposal at a moment when in a number of countries and before all in Germany, the working masses are taking into their own hands the organizing of the united front.

In spite of this, however, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in view of fascism which is unchaining all the forces of world reaction against the working class of Germany, calls upon all Communist Parties to make yet another attempt to set up the united front of struggle with the Social-Democratic workers through the medium of the Social-Democratic Parties.

The E.C.C.I. makes this attempt in the firm conviction that the united front of the working class on the basis of the class struggle will be able to repel the offensive of capital and fascism, and to accelerate to an extraordinary degree the inevitable end of all capitalist exploitation.

Owing to the peculiarity of the conditions, as well as the differences in the concrete fighting tasks confronting the working class in the various countries, an agreement between the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties for definite actions against the bourgeoisie can be carried out most successfully within the confines of each individual country. The E.C.C.I. recommends the Communist Parties of the various countries to approach the Central Committees of the Social-Democratic Parties belonging to the L.S.I. with proposals regarding joint actions against fascism and against the capitalist offensive.

Nevertheless, the negotiations between the parties concluding such an agreement must be based on the most elementary prerequisites for the common fight.

Without a concrete program of action against the bourgeoisie, any

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agreement between the parties would be directed against the interests of the working class.

The E.C.C.I. therefore proposes the following points as a basis of such an agreement:

(a) The Communists and Social-Democrats commence at once to organize and carry out defensive action against the attacks of fascism and reaction on the political, trade union, cooperative and other workers' organizations, on the workers' press, on the freedom of meetings, demonstrations and strikes. They shall organize common defense against the armed attacks of the fascist bands by carrying out mass protests, street demonstrations and political mass strikes. They shall proceed to organize committees of action in the workshops and factories, the Labor Exchanges and the workers' quarters, as well as organize self-defense groups.

(b) Communists and Social-Democrats shall commence at once to organize the protest of the workers with the air of meeting demonstrations and strikes against any wage reductions, against worsening of working conditions, against attacks on social insurance, against the cutting down of unemployment benefits, against dismissals from the factories.

(c) In the adoption and practical carrying out of these two conditions, the E.C.C.I. considers it possible to recommend the Communist Parties during the time of common fight against capital and fascism to refrain from making attacks on Social-Democratic organizations. The most ruthless fight must be conducted against all those who violate the conditions of the agreement in carrying out the united front, as against strike breakers who disrupt the united front of the workers.

These conditions which are put forward for acceptance by the L.S.I. apply also to those parties which, like the Independent Labor Party for example, have proposed to the Comintern the organization of the united front of struggle.

The E.C.C.I., which makes these proposals before the international working class, calls upon all Communist Parties, and in the first place upon the Communist Party of Germany, immediately and without waiting for the results of negotiations and agreements with the Social-Democracy with regard to a common fight, to proceed to organize joint fighting committees with Social-Democratic workers and with workers of all other persuasions.

The Communists have proved, through their long years of struggle, that they stand, and will stand, not in words but in deeds, in the front ranks of the fight for the united front in class actions against the bourgeoisie.

The E.C.C.I. firmly believes that the Social-Democratic and non-party workers, regardless of what attitude the Social-Democratic leaders adopt in setting up the united front, will overcome all obstacles and, together with the Communists, set up the united front, not in words, but in deeds.

Precisely at the present moment, when German fascism has organized a monstrous provocation, in setting fire to the Reichstag, forging documents about an alleged Communist insurrection, etc., in order to crush the workers' movement in Germany, every worker must recognize his class duty in the fight against the capitalist offensive and fascist reaction.

Down with the fascist reaction and the terror against the working class!

For the united front of struggle of the proletariat!

Proletarians of all countries, unite for the fight against the capitalist offensive and capitalism!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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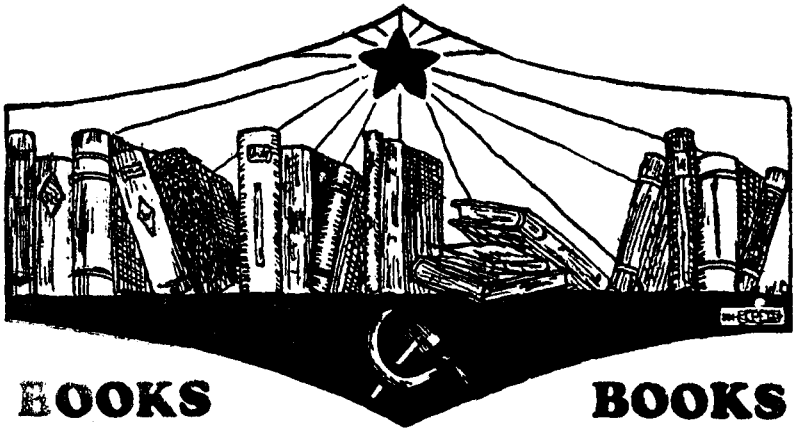

"HERR EUGEN DUEHRING'S REVOLUTION IN SCIENCE"—(ANTI-DUEHRING)—*By Frederick Engels,* 364 *pp. International Publishers.* $1.90.

Reviewed by H. M. WICKS

MORE than half a century after its publication we now have a complete English translation of Frederick Engels' masterpiece of revolutionary theory, the *Anti-Duehring.* International Publishers, in bringing out Emil Burns' translation which was done under the supervision of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, have rendered another invaluable service to the revolutionary movement, hence to the entire working class.

Although the principles expounded in the book have been familiar to Marxist-Leninists of the English-speaking world, through their popularization in other revolutionary literature, and through publication of parts of the *Anti-Duehring,* all enthusiastically hail this publication of the complete work.

In his preface to the second edition, Engels observed, even then (1885), that—"*the subject matter of its criticism is now practically forgotten*". The very name of Professor Duehring would be unknown, except to those familiar with the history of Prussian education, were it not for the fact that his preposterous "works", the product of "mental incompetence due to megalomania", threatened to create confusion and possibly division in the ranks of the young Social-Democratic Party of Germany, which fact impelled Engels to a critical analysis of his "works". Thus, it was because of the harmful effects upon the Party of the ideas of Duehring, representing a hostile class, that caused Engels to take up the cudgels against them and against Duehring.

What began as a negative criticism of the vagaries of Duehring became positive and, as Engels said in his preface to the second edition, "the polemic was transferred into a more or less connected exposition of the dialectical method and of the Communist world outlook represented by Marx and myself—an exposition covering a fairly comprehensive range of subjects".

It was necessary for the author of the *Anti-Duehring* to follow the Berlin professor into all the realms wherein he claimed to have discovered new and profound truths. When he announced his conversion (?) to Social-

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ism, Herr Duehring insisted noisily that all previous theories, and especially the Marxian theories, had to be discarded as worthless. Duehring came forward with a new science, a new philosophy, new history, new codes of morality—in short, Duehring, at least to his own satisfaction, was a builder of new systems embracing all the universe.

The Berlin professor was unable to find words with which to express his disgust for the dialectic method. His excursions into many realms of science were for the specific purpose of trying to refute dialectics, either materialist or idealist, and to replace them by what he was pleased to call his own "system".

In his reply, Engels, while brilliantly paying his respects to Duehring by proving the Berlin professor to have been an ignoramus, a plagiarist, a falsifier, a paranoiac, restated in the most detailed and comprehensive way, the fundamentals of dialectic materialism. The work of Engels is a matchless use of the dialectic method to prove that everything in nature and in society moves according to dialectic law. In Part I, dealing with philosophy, Engels marshals facts of astronomy, physics, geology, biology, thermodynamics, natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, economics, history, to prove that "dialectics is nothing more than the science of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought".

These general laws of motion and development can be summed up in the postulate that every positive force in existence generates within itself the elements of its own negation; that the negative force comes into conflict with the positive force and eventually destroys it; then the formerly negative force in a higher stage of development and it in turn develops the negative force which will eventually bring the former negative force under the laws of its own dialectic. This dialectic movement that pervades everything, from the smallest particle of matter to the vast solar systems, has three fundamental laws of its own. These are:

1. The change from quantity into quality and *vice versa*.
2. The unity and struggle of opposites.
3. The negation of the negation.

In his *Anti-Duehring*, Engels illustrates, with a mass of material facts, how these laws operate. His chapters on "Quantity and Quality" and the "Negation of the Negation" are, beyond dispute, the most comprehensive statement on dialectics to be found anywhere. After showing how mathematics, when it operates with variable magnitudes, enters the fields of dialectics, Engels analyzes numerous chemical formulae to prove the change from quantity into quality and vice versa. He closes his chapter on "Quantity and Quality" with the application of dialectics to military science:

> ". . . we shall call one more witness for the transformation of quantity into quality, namely—Napoleon. He makes the following reference to the fights between the French cavalry, who were bad riders, but disciplined, and the Mameluks, who were undoubtedly the best horsemen of their time for single combat, but lacked discipline: 'Two Mameluks were undoubtedly more than a match for three Frenchmen; 100 Mameluks were equal to 100 Frenchmen; 300 Frenchmen could generally beat 300 Mameluks, and 1,000 Frenchmen invariably defeated 1,500 Mameluks.' Just as with Marx, a definite, though varying minimum sum of exchange value was necessary to make possible the transformation into capital, so with Napoleon a detachment of cavalry had to be of a definite minimum

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> *number in order to make it possible for the force of discipline*, embodied in closed order and planned action, to manifest itself and rise superior even to greater numbers of irregular cavalry."

Thus we see, to use Marx's phrase, how the "fusion of many forces into a single force, creates a 'new power' which is essentially different from the sum of its individual powers".

In illustrating the unity and struggle of opposites there is again traversed a vast realm of science, history, economics. Unity is transitory, relative. But the struggle is absolute. When applied to the capitalist system we see that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat develop as opposites in a unified social system, that with the growth and development of the system there is a continuous struggle, "now concealed, now open" between these opposing forces (the capitalist class the positive and the working class the negative force), that at a certain stage quantity changes into quality, with the proletariat smashing through the confines of the capitalist system and itself becoming the positive force in a higher stage of social evolution.. Thus this internal conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie enables the working class to become organized, trained, disciplined for its historic task, the proletarian revolution.

In his famous chapter on the "Negation of the Negation", Engels again brings forth facts from various branches of science to prove that this is a process which is taking place every day, "which any child can understand, as soon as it is stripped of its veil of mystery in which it was wrapped by the old idealist philosophy". Engels shows how the negation of the negation must be applied to the growing of grain; when a grain of barley falls on fertile soil it germinates, it is negated, ceasing to exist as grain and in its place appears the plant which has risen from it. But then the plant produces grains of barley, when they ripen it dies, is in its turn negated—thus we have the negation of the negation.

In a vast range from the negation of algebraical magnitudes to geology and to the development of human society Engels confronts Duehring with proof of the negation of the negation. In broad outlines he shows how all civilized peoples began with the common ownership of land; how it became a fetter upon production, was negated and transformed into private property. Then ensues a further development, passing through the various stages of private property, until today we have entered the period where private property itself must be negated, giving way to a higher form of common ownership of property. Thus, the development of society from primitive Communism to the destruction of capitalism, which is negated by a higher form of Communism, proceeds according to dialectic laws.

Part II of the *Anti-Duehring* deals with political economy and mercilessly pillories the stupidities of Duehring who contended that force was the greatest calamity that ever befell society. Engels brilliantly expounds the Marxist position that the economic base is the real foundation upon which rests the entire political superstructure of society. Engels shows that "force", the State power in the hands of reactionary ruling classes, plays a vicious role inasmuch as it is a fetter upon the further development of society. But to consider it from that standpoint alone and to rail at force as "the absolute evil", as "original sin" or something of that sort is to view history from the standpoint of the moralist, the idealist, the religionist. As opposed to such drivel, Engels points out that force plays another role in history, a revolutionary role; "that, in the words of Marx, it is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new, that it is the instrument by the aid of

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which the social movement forces its way through and shatters the dead, fossilized, political forms".

From this Engels proceeds to an exposition of the Marxian theory of value, simple and compound labor, capital and surplus value, giving Duehring a lesson in political economy on how surplus value is transformed into its sub-forms: profit, interest, merchant's profit, ground rent, etc. This section serves as a splendid introduction to the study of Marx's *Capital*, and has been used as such by thousands in all countries in the world.

Part III contains two of the chapters of the popular pamphlet, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific". This section deals with the historical roots of the modern revolutionary working class movement and is a classic example of the elaboration and use of historical materialism. Again it is necessary for Engels to hold up the Berlin professor, Herr Duehring, to the ridicule of all familiar with the nature of capitalist crises. Duehring put forth the time-worn argument that crises are caused by "underconsumption" and not as Marx states, by overproduction, the contradiction between production and the market.

No one can read the *Anti-Duehring* without realizing that revolutionary theory is a mighty weapon in the proletarian struggle for power. It explains the world better than it was ever explained before. It enables us to change the world; as Lenin ofttimes said: "Revolutionary theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action." That is to say, a guide to action of the proletariat, and first of all to the Party of the proletariat in developing the mass struggle against capitalism until there is realized that accumulation of energy and concentration of force necessary to conquer the class enemy—the bourgeoisie. Marxism-Leninism, of which dialectical materialism and historical materialism are inseparable parts, is the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution. All scientific approach must be from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, because it is in accord with the facts of nature and the facts of society. And those who, like Duehring, strive to deprive the proletariat of that weapon are, objectively, serving the interests of the capitalist class.

It is as necessary today for the working class to equip itself with understanding of dialectic materialism as it was when Engels wrote his *Anti-Duehring*. By all odds the best means of understanding it is to study this work of Engels, the basic content of which is as useful today as it was when written.

Today capitalism, in the throes of its general crisis, strives to impose upon the working class its decadent ideologies, tries to induce the working class to accept the philosophy of a hostile and decaying class. Today there are numbers of "new-Duehrings", vile instruments of rotting capitalism, who plumb the depths of mental depravity in an effort to substitute idealism for materialism, metaphysics for dialectics, eclectics for monism, sophistry for science.

In the United States we have had a flock of would-be Duehrings who have tried to impose upon the revolutionary movement the philosophical nonsense of the university chairs of decaying capitalism. Just before and during the World War we had the "contributions" of Mr. William English Walling, long since a renegade and Red-baiter, who wrote learnedly that the proper way to interpret Marx and Engels was to use the pragmatism of John Dewey. He even tried to show that Marx and Engels were really pragmatists, but didn't know it. One of Walling's associates at that time was that other notorious renegade and counter-revolutionist, Max Eastman, whose diatribes on the dialectic are a braying echo of the rantings of the original Duehring. Since that time, in Europe and here, there have been many who

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echoed, in one way or another, the attempt of Duehring. Most of them are now avowed anti-Marxists and have long served openly in the camp of the enemy.

But, with the general crisis of capitalism, and the triumph of Marxism-Leninism in one-sixth of the inhabitable globe, a new set of anti-Marxists has entered the arena. Unlike Duehring, who assailed Marxism in the most vicious way, these new Duehrings pretend to embrace Marxism, with certain "contributions" from "latest scientific discoveries". These "latest" contributions all prove to be nothing other than attempts to deprive the working class of the use of its theoretical weapons. For example; Sidney Hook, who declares that science has no class character (*Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, by Sidney Hook, p. 7); hence that ideas are independent of material conditions, hence of social relationships. This is nothing other than the most vulgar idealism. It would indeed be an interesting study to record the activities of those who tried to impose the ideas of a hostile class upon the working class from Duehring down to date. We should find that they all echo, in one form or another, the attempt of Duehring. Their contributions, from Duehring to Hook, can be compared to a stream, the source of which is polluted, with tributaries like itself; the further it flows, the more putrid it becomes.

One of the reasons why Engels' work has tremendous value today is because it sets for us an example, showing how to deal with such people. That is why this work of Engels always draws the wrath of the revisionists of Marxism. Just as Engels erected a monument of shame to Duehring, so we today, by correctly applying Marxism-Leninism, that is, as a weapon in the theoretical struggle, can annihilate the shabby pretenses of the Eastmans, the Calvertons, the Hooks, the Mustes, and all their ilk.

It is necessary, in passing, to deal briefly with the fate that befell Engels' work at the hands of an earlier translator of an alleged English edition of the *Anti-Duehring*. I refer to the translation of some 28 years ago by one Austin Lewis. The thing was a crime against the international movement and an insult to the memory of Marx and Engels. It was an insult to Engels because the translator depicted him as a vulgar brawler who devoted much of his work to calling Duehring uncalled-for names. It was an insult to Marx because the translator eliminated the chapter on political economy written by Marx on the pretext that it was "too polemical". It was a crime against the international movement because its publication prevented for a long time an attempt to bring out a real translation.

The translator of that edition was an adherent of the detached philosophical approach. Philosophers shouldn't call names; impoliteness is unbecoming a philosopher. Such people fail to see that philosophy also has a class basis and that whenever some professor of the university chairs tries to deprive the working class of its theoretical weapons—rip out its brains and substitute therefore the paretic philosophy of decaying capitalism—it is the duty of revolutionary theoreticians to expose them for precisely what they are, without mincing words. In the previous English "translation" the eighth chapter, on "Natural Philosophy", was cut with the observation: "The remainder of this section simply teases Herr Duehring". Chapter 9, on "Morality and Law", which fills 12 pages, was reduced to three by Lewis. Chapter 14 on "Philosophy", concluding the discussion on dialectic materialism, is entirely omitted, again on the pretext that Engels "merely teases his opponent". The translator of that edition tears out the middle of Chapter 6, on "Political Economy", dealing with simple and compound labor, and,

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with high moral indignation, states: "After some invective hurled at Duehrings, Engels proceeds":

Chapter 8, on political economy, fares still worse, with a whole section —showing how Duehring plagiarized Rodbertus theory of rent and also distorted Marx's theory of surplus value—eliminated because it is only "more caustic satire at the expense of the antagonist of Engels".

Then comes the crowning achievement of the translator of the previous "English edition". As the translator neared the end of the book his bourgeois soul was horrified at the disrespectful language and so he saved his readers from exposure to the distasteful epithets by eliminating all of Chapter 10, on political economy, with this observation: "This, which is the concluding portion of the Second Division of the work and which deals with Herr Duehring's estimates of political writers, is omitted as being of too limited and polemical a character for general interest."

That chapter, "From the Critical History", one of the most brilliant in all revolutionary literature, was not written by Engels, but by Marx, and covers a considerable range in the history of political economy, dealing with theories of Petty, Boisguillebert, Thomas Mun, Locke, North, Adam Smith, Hume and Quesnay. Many economic theories refuted by Marx in that chapter are still put forth as the height of wisdom by "professors of economics" in bourgeois universities, hence its usefulness today is obvious.

Then, in the final chapter, the translator of 28 years ago simply cut out more than half of it without even bothering to vent his spleen against the "impolite" author.

Such butchery of a masterpiece like the *Anti-Duehring* could only have been done by a petty-bourgeois philistine, so saturated with the niceties of bourgeois politeness that he was incapable of understanding the class character of science and philosophy. The whole system of bourgeois politeness is devised to conceal facts and avoid calling the rotten products and habits of the bourgeoisie by their right name; it is based upon the bourgeois contribution to philiophy that "language was invented to conceal thought". It was this bourgeois outlook that caused the plagiarist, Calverton, to berate Lenin for being impolite in his masterful work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. It is this that causes Hook to fly into righteous wrath at Lenin's treatment of philosophic questions from a class standpoint.

Engels called things by their right name because he wanted the workers, at least the advanced section of the workers, to understand precisely what Duehring was trying to do and why it was necessary to rid the movement of such "theories". The present translation has faithfully followed Engels and the result is a book that can and should be in the hands of and studied and understood by every class-conscious worker. No one who wants to understand the unity of theory and practice can afford to be without it.

How many mistakes, and deviations could have been avoided if only the leaders of the movement had been trained in the use of the scientific method of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

When considering what blunders are made by those who do not understand the dialectic there comes to mind the odious career of the counter-revolutionary, Trotsky. From failure to understand the dialectics of imperialism, Trotsky embraced the theory of the impossibility of socialism in one country. The same un-Marxist approach led him to failure to understand the role of the peasantry. Had he understood dialectics he could have avoided the military blunders he made that threatened to imperil the Red Army and hence the revolution. But then, had he been a dialectician and a Marxist he would not have been Trotsky. We have seen above how Engels, in quoting

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Napoleon, shows how the Corsican was able to understand the practical application of dialectics to military science, even though he certainly was not familiar with the laws of dialectics. Trotsky may be able to use the terminology of dialectics, but he certainly was incapable of applying it to military tactics. The Red Army, like everything else, is also subject to dialectic laws. Had Trotsky known these laws he would have avoided the blunder of placing too much reliance upon former staff officers during the civil war. Here the question of quality played a most important part. The old officers, permitted to have their own way, carried out the old bourgeois-military tactics. The result was that in many places they not only did not gain the support of the masses in the territory in which they were operating, but actually alienated the masses and aroused their hostility. It was only when Comrade Stalin, equipped with a profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, set out to correct the wrong policies of Trotsky by placing proletarian elements in a position where they could direct the military policy, while, at the same time, learning from practical experience, that a change for the better took place. The change in policy produced immediate results. The peasantry in the territory on the Southern front began to rally to the support of the Red Army, the direction of the attack against the counter-revolution was determined by an analysis of the social composition of the territory where the operations would take place. The result was a strengthening of the Red Army by an influx of the proletariat and peasantry from the territory in which the Army was operating. Thus, by changing the quality of the leadership of the Red Army, there followed a change in quantity. This quantitative change in turn produced a further qualitative change. Thus the change from quantity into quality and vice versa—a dialectic development—in the most intense historical movement of our time.

So the dialectic materialism, so brilliantly expounded by Engels in his reply to Duehring, can be applied to all struggles, from the simplest to the most complicated. It is a powerful weapon in the hands of the proletariat, that enables us, as Marx said, not only to understand history better than it was ever understood before, but to make history better than ever before. And part of the job of making history is to be able to carry out, against those who try to deprive the proletariat of our ideological weapons, the sort of merciless exposure that Engels carried out against Duehring. The *Anti-Duehring* points the way and shows us how to deal with the Duehrings of our day.

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